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More Documents on the Japanese Occupation

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Ambeth Ocampo

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MacMicking's Manila*

Horacio de la Costa, S.J.

I FEAR THAT THE TITLE I have given this paper is somewhat misleading. Robert MacMicking's *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines*, published by Richard Bentley of London in 1851 and now so opportunely and attractively reissued by the Filipiniana Book Guild, does have many interesting things to say about Manila; but it is not my intention to spoil your enjoyment of the book by giving you a precis of it, which will be necessarily brief and inevitably bad. Moreover, the Filipiniana Book Guild text is accompanied by fine reproductions of the nearly contemporary Karuth watercolors, and by the notes of Mr. Morton Netzorg, bookseller and bibliophile, who manages time and again the difficult feat of being both scholarly and sprightly, so that his comments on MacMicking often make as good reading as MacMicking himself. At any rate, with such capable instrumentalists accompanying our soloist, I ought surely to be, not only exempted, but postively prevented from horning in, especially with a horn capable of producing — like the famous trumpet in St. Paul — only an uncertain sound.

What I propose to do, therefore, is to mention a few things about MacMicking's Manila which MacMicking himself might have mentioned but did not, in the hope that these small details may add to our understanding and appreciation of our city as it was a hundred years ago. Lack of time and leisure compels me to do this at random and in no particular order; for which I crave your kind indulgence.

On page 8 of the Filipiniana Book Guild edition, MacMicking mentions what he calls "the massacre of the Protestant foreigners at Manila in 1820." Mr. Netzorg adds, in a footnote, that "the occasion was a cholera epidemic and the widely accepted rumor that the cause was poisoning of the water supply by foreigners." May I, in turn, contribute a letter which I came across in the House Miscellaneous Series in the India Office Library in London (HMS 77, 349-356), which I believe remains unedited. It was written by Commander J. Campbell of *HMS Dauntless* to W. A. Chibley, Secretary to the Government at Penang, and was dated at Penang, 3 December 1820. He begins:

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* Paper read at a joint meeting of the Philippine-British Society and the Filipiniana Book Guild on the occasion of the launching of the latter's edition of MacMicking's *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines*, 25 September 1967.

"Sir,

"The painful duty has devolved on me of communicating to you a series of transactions that have occurred at Manilla since the 1st of October, and which must be regarded as equally important to our Commercial, as to our Political intercourse with the Government of the Philippines.

"On my arrival at Manilla on the 9th ultimo in His Majesty's Ship under my command, I perceived even before I landed that some dreadful catastrophe had marked its progress with desolation and had produced stagnation in the Commercial operations on the River and in the Port.

"I soon learned from the most respectable testimony the following narrative of the facts that had given rise to these appearances.

"Early in the [sic] October, an Epidemic Disease broke out among the native population of the City of Manilla and the neighboring Villages, sweeping off with rapidity the objects who became afflicted, and bidding defiance to all medical aid to check or mitigate its fatal effects.

"On the 7th and 8th October the Distemper continued to rage with unabated fury.

"Discontent and murmurs began to prevail; these, fomented by some artful and designing people, were directed under the colour of the most absurd pretences against Strangers, and incited the Native Indians to the commission of the most barbarous atrocities.

"A Report was propagated among the ignorant and savage multitude that the waters of the Lake and River had been poisoned by Foreigners, who had lately arrived in the Island, and who consisted of some French Gentlemen holding I understand Commissiones from their Government and sent for the purpose of making Scientific Researches amongst these Islands.

"This report, and the threatening menaces it gave rise to from the populace, was early made known to the Government of the Philippines, but by some unaccountable infatuation, supineness or indifference, had no effect in producing any energetic measures that would udoubtedly have averted the impending Calamity.

"The 9th October the Epedemic appears to have attained the height of its malignity, confining its ravages almost entirely to the Natives, without affecting the Spaniards or European-born Subjects.

"The Indians at this period became infuriated and incensed against those whom they were led to regard as the source from whence their sufferings arose, and soon after twelve o'clock on this fatal day a general rising of the people took place with the express purpose of exterminating all Foreigners (Spaniards and Portuguese excepted).

"Houses afforded no protection; the fierce and murderous Indians, incited by an infernal spirit of Massacre and Plunder, and unmolested in their cruel operations, proceeded in their design and slaughtered all the English, French, Danes or Americans whom they could find. By sunset I lament to say that Twenty-Six Europeans, a large proportion of whom were British, had fallen victims to these ferocious Savages under the very Guns of the Citadel of Manilla and in presence of Three Thousand Troops under arms who seem on this occasion to have been drawn out rather with a view of witnessing these scenes of Murder than for the purpose of preventing them."

Considering the shock it must have been to Commander Campbell to find all or most of his countrymen in Manila killed in this fashion, we can readily understand and overlook the strong language he uses to describe the Filipinos responsible for the massacre. We can only allege in extenuation of the deed the utter ignorance with respect to the natural causes of cholera under which the Filipinos of that time labored; an ignorance which, if combined with panic fear, could lead, and did lead, to the worst excesses. It was a condition similar to that of the people of London during the Great Plague; but of course, we cannot reasonably expect Commander Campbell to have read Daniel Defoe's description of that particular epidemic.

Commander Campbell gives a list of the dead which may be of interest.

Twelve British subjects: Mr. Nicholls, commander of the ship *Merope* of Calcutta, and eleven others, whose names he could not ascertain, formerly belonging to the crew of a privateer from Buenos Aires.

Eleven Frenchmen, namely, M. Estoup, commander of the ship *Alexandre* of Bordeaux; M. Arnaud, officer, Messrs. Martin and Justus, apprentices, and M. Joseph, cook of the same ship; M. Guillot, supercargo of the *Eglantine* of Bordeaux; M. Godefroi, a naturalist; M. Dupeyrat, an agriculturist; M. Dibau, commander of the *Cultivateur* of Nantes; M. Poulon, a half-pay officer of the Royal Guards; and the sailmaker of the ship *L'Orion,* name unknown.

Two Danes, namely Messrs. Schaffalitzky and Duntsfelt, merchants and partners in the firm of Stevenson and Co.

And one American, Mr. Wilson, midshipman of the U.S. Navy, ashore on sick certificate from the frigate *Macedonian.*

We ought not conclude from this regrettable episode that absolutely nothing was being done here to control epidemic diseases. It was at about this time that smallpox vaccine was introduced in the Philippines. The occasion was commemorated by the erection of a monument in the square before the cathedral church which McMicking noticed and admired — "a statue", he says, "of I forget what King of Spain, well executed in bronze." Mr. Netzorg comments in a footnote that it is a statue of Charles III — one of his rare slips. It is in fact a statue of Charles IV; and if MacMicking had taken the trouble to read the inscription at its base, he would have learned that it was erected in 1824 as a token of gratitude to the sovereign under whose government the vaccine was brought to this country.

MacMicking does not mention the Hospital of San Lazaro, a very early foundation dedicated to the care of lepers. The site which it still occupies today was acquired by the government in 1784. I may, perhaps, be permitted to mention that that piece of land originally formed a portion of the Mayhaligue Estate of the Jesuits, which, when these were expelled from the country in 1768, passed to the royal domain. The Frenchman Mallat, whose book on the Philippines appeared in Paris some years before MacMicking's, informs us that in his time the Hospital of San Lazaro had accommodations for 106 beds.

That Mallat could quote so exact a figure need not surprise us. He was a doctor of medicine, and had, in fact, come to the

Philippines to take charge of another hospital, that of San Juan de Dios. And how many beds did that have? Mallat obliges: 127, distributed in three wards; 79 beds in the men's ward, 40 beds in the women's ward, and 8 beds in a third ward reserved for Very Important Persons and members of the Third Order of Saint Francis. The privilege extended to Franciscan tertiaries was doubtless in consideration of the fact that the hospital was under the charge of the Franciscan Fathers, who had taken it over from the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God.

Here is another interesting bit of information from Mallat. It concerns physician's fees. For an ordinary house visit in the daytime, one peso; at night, four pesos. This, within the Walled City. But if the visit took the doctor one kilometer outside the city, the fee went up steeply: 16 pesos. Deliveries, between 40 and 50 pesos.

There is a detail about the Hospital of San Lazaro which I would like to get in here somewhere. It is supplied by Diaz Arenas, a contemporary source from whom Mr. Netzorg quotes frequently. According to Diaz Arenas, the people of the parish of Paco had the custom in his time of preparing and serving a meal for the patients of the Hospital on Lazarus Sunday (the Sunday on which the parable about Dives and Lazarus, Luke 16, is read at Mass). On this day, says Diaz Arenas, "the wards are opened to the public, and so great are the crowds that come to visit and give alms to the sick that a detachment of troops is always sent there to keep order."

Now that we have mentioned Paco, we may as well make the rounds of the districts and parishes of Manila and see whether we can catch sight of anything that MacMicking either missed or forgot to mention. Our guides shall be MacMicking's contemporaries, principally Mallat and Diaz Arenas, but others also. Let us begin with Paco itself. We should note that the old name of this district is Dilao, and that of the parish, San Fernando de Dilao. In the early sixteenth century this was where the Japanese residents of Manila had their quarter; a martial people, who gave much needed assistance to the Spaniards during the Chinese revolt of 1603. In Mallat's time the Japanese had gone; Paco was a populous native suburb in which were to be found both painters of pictures and painters of houses (*des peintres artistes et des peintres en batiment*), as well as stonemasons and manufacturers of tile roofing. Paco was where you went if you wanted a house built or your portrait painted. And if you were devout, you stopped by the parish church to pay a visit to Nuestro Señor de Paco — the deeply venerated image of Our Lord in death, lying in state as for a funeral.

Walking towards the Walled City from Paco, we cut across the district of Arroceros, which, I gather, comprised the two older districts of San Miguel and the Parian. This, Diaz Arenas tells us, "is where you will find the slaughterhouse, a cigar factory, a hospital building begun but not yet finished, the principal market for lumber, and further on the Fortin Barracks, so called because it adjoins the *fortin* or little fort that guards the approaches of the Great Bridge" — that is, the Puente de España, the principal bridge across the Pasig.

"This district is called Arroceros," Diaz Arenas continues, "because it was formerly the principal rice market, and even today quite a number of river craft bring to its wharves both rice and fruit. It is also called Tableros because it is the principal market for lumber and wooden poles and all kinds of sawn timber. And finally it is called Parian, because it is customary to give this name to a predominantly Chinese quarter, and it is chiefly the Chinese who are engaged in the lumber business." So it was in Diaz Arenas' time, and so it is today.

We might hazard the conjecture that Arroceros was called Parian not only because it was *a* Parian, one among many, but because it was the site of *the* Parian, the ancient Chinese quarter outside the city walls. So that if any sizable construction should ever be started anywhere in the general area of Plaza Lawton we should narrowly examine what the excavations will bring up. Who knows? We might find still unbroken pieces of Chinese ware to match those now being brought to light around the shores of Laguna de Bae.

Where shall we go next? If we look from the river to the bay along the northern course of the city walls, we will not see City Hall, or the Legislature, much less the Manila Hilton. This is open space in the 1850's, the glacis or esplanade of the fortified city, kept free of all construction to provide a clear field of fire for the artillery on the walls. It was a hard lesson that Manila had learned from the British in 1762, but she had learned it. The breach that Draper's guns had made near the Royal Gate had been repaired, and in order to protect the gate, a forward bastion in the shape of a half-moon had been added.

Another word for a half-moon shape is lunette — *luneta*— and this, I take it, is how the spacious park commanded by the bastion, Manila's pride and joy, got its name.

The afternoon carriage drive around the Luneta before the age of the internal combustion engine has been described often enough. MacMicking describes it, of course. But let us see what an American naval officer, Captain Wilkes, has to say about it, around 1842 (and please note, by the way, that Captain Wilkes calls the Luneta by its alternative name, the Prado):

> "Our afternoons were spent in drives on the Prado, where all the fashion and rank of Manilla are to be met, and where it is exceedingly agreeable to partake of the fresh and pure air after a heated day in the city. The extreme end of the Prado lies along the shore of the bay of Manilla, having the roadstead and ships on one side and the city proper with its fortifications and moats on the other. This drive usually lasts for an hour, and all sorts of vehicles are shown off, from the governor's coach and six, surrounded by his lancers, to the sorry chaise and limping nag. The carriage most used is a four-wheeled *biloche*, with a big top, quite low, and drawn by two horses, on one of which is a postilion; these vehicles are exceedingly comfortable for two persons... The drive is enlivened by the music of the different regiments, who are at this time to be seen maneuvering on the Prado."

A French traveller, Jurien de la Graviere, writing in the *Revue de deux mondes* about a sojourn in Manila in 1848, expresses amazement at the number of vehicles in so small a city: "More than two thousand vehicles for a population of 180,000 souls!" What he would have said in the midst of a traffic snarl in front of St. Jude's on Thursdays, or in the vicinity of the Quezon overpass-underpass any day of the week, I leave to your imagination.

But here it is almost time for supper, and we haven't even been to Ermita and Malate, where the embroiderers in *piña* and *sinamay* have their *ateliers*. We haven't been across the river to the Escolta, to Calle Rosario, and the business section of the city, MacMicking's stamping grounds. We haven't been to Quiapo and its fair; to Tondo and Gagalangin and its mango and citrus orchards; to San Pedro Makati where, Dr. Mallat assures us, the air is not only pure but stimulating (*pur et vif*), and where, as a consequence, those convalescing from stomach ailments (*dysenteriques*) should go to recover their health completely.

But we cannot dismiss Makati in this cavalier fashion, especially since a latter-day MacMicking Col. Joseph MacMicking of Ayala y Compañia has had so much to do with its development. May I therefore share with you a curiosity that I came across quite by accident — nothing less than a poem in praise of Makati, composed about 1830, when the area was still pretty much a sylvan retreat.

It was written originally in Portuguese by a certain Col. Felicien de Figuereido, about whom I have not been able to find out anything, except that he must have been in the Spanish colonial service, that he encountered many difficulties and disappointments in that service, that he retired from it with a sigh of relief, and that he spent a portion of his retirement in peaceful Makati, indulging an amateur interest in the natural sciences and astronomy, about which he had a tendency to wax poetic.

We do not have the Portuguese original but only a French translation by the friend to whom it was addressed, a geographer by the name of Rienzi. Here is a very free English translation of Rienzi's French:

Lovely Makati, I love your solitude.
Everything about you draws me to a line of study.
The plendid orb that lights the skies of night
Has ten times gladdened the people of Manila with its rays,
And ten times finished its course on the rim of the sea,
Since I, your lover, came freely to breathe your air.
Here, in this haven, there are no more meaningless courtesies
to render;
Here, far from the clamorous multitude, free of importunate bores,
hidden from spying eyes,
Safe at last from the unending intrigues of a vain and idle society,
Without a care in the world, I devote myself to the task of trying
to understand
The language of insects, the song of birds,
And what the flowers, the winds and the waves murmur in my ear.
For surely, where Nature is most peaceful, there is the most eloquent

And the sensitive spirit can catch her meaning then.
See where the invisible hand of God sows diamonds in the desert
of the night!
My soul, drawn to that first beginning from which she sprang
Cannot tear her gaze away from that vision of delight.
Fixing my eager eye to the magic crystals of the enlarging tube
Gladly I hail Andromeda and Cepheus,
And the fearful monster whom Perseus slew,
As with deliberate majesty they rise to the zenith
Casting their pale reflections on the mirroring sea.
I behold Uranus — O mystery sublime!
What is the meaning of earth? Look for it in the sky.

But it is suppertime. We must go back to the city — and never forget that in our period the city means the Walled City, Intramuros. We must go back to the city, and there look for... well, for where we are now. We must look for the Casino Español.

Montero y Vidal tells us that the Casino de Manila was founded by one of the Philippines' most enlightened Spanish governors, Claveria, and that it was inaugurated in 1844. It was first called, charmingly, *Sociedad de Recreo,* a society which had for its object, according to Diaz Arenas, "fomentar el espiritu de asociacion y generalizar el trato fino proporcionado utiles y decorosas diversiones."

It began with three "sections", or, as we should say today, "activities" or "projects": dramatic, musical, and terpsichorean. "Today," says Diaz Arenas — that is to say, in 1844 — "a fourth section has been added, namely, literature."

Its first quarters were a rented building at the corner of Calle Anda and Calle del Cabildo. Then, in 1855, it was transferred to a huge house in front of the parish church of Binondo where, unfortunately, "desplego entonces tanto lujo, hizo tantos gastos . . . que el Casino trono." The Casino went bankrupt.

But the Casino survived. It is here, and here we are in it. If there is any lesson to be derived from this, surely it is that of the philosopher Santayana, whose mother was born and raised on the island of Corregidor: "Those who cannot remember the past are compelled to repeat it."

A Survey of Palaeographic Relations between India and the Philippines*

Juan R. Francisco

At the height of proto-historic cultural contacts between the Philippines and the neighboring regions, particularly Malaya, the Indonesian archipelago and Borneo,[1] certain cultural elements were significantly Indian in character. These elements may be classified into many categories, but the most important of these are linguistics, archaeological, perhaps ethnographic, and palaeographic.

At this point it may be well to touch on the probable date of the influx of Indian cultural elements into the Philippines. In the first place these Indian cultural elements reached the Philippines via the intervention of the regions lying between these two culture areas, and not directly. It is, therefore, relevant to say that the date of the influx of Indian influence in the Philippines would be in relation to this movement in these intervening regions.

With very few, if not meagre, evidences, many scholars—both in the Philippines and abroad who have studied early Philippine relations with other regions in pre- and proto-historic times

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* The present essay draws largely from a work of monographic length, which was the result of a research project financed by the Social Sciences Research Council, University of the Philippines. I wish to thank the Council for its support for the project, without which the work could not have been completed. (See fn.[7] below) This would, therefore, have the nature of a brief report on the results of the project, prior to the publication of the whole work.

[1] Proto-history in the Philippines would be between the 7th and the early 16th centuries, during which period contact with the Great Traditions would be at its highest point in terms of the magnitude of changes that took place.

— have pointed out that the Indian substratum of Philippine culture arrived in the Islands between the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. and the years after the 3rd century A.D.[2] These dates seem very optimistic considering the fact that Indian (Hindu) culture began to filter into Southeast Asia — at least in terms of the datable evidences — from the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[3] From the linguistic point of view, the influx of Sanskrit loanwords into the Philippine languages may be explained only in relation to the presence of the first Sanskritized Malay language inscriptions in Southeast Asia — more appropriately in Northern Sumatra — in late 7th century A.D. These inscriptions are generally known to have been inscribed by a Sri Vijaya monarch in (1) Kedukan Bukit (Palembang), (2) Talang Tawo (Palembang), (3) Karang Brahi (Jambi), and (4) Kota Kapur (Bangka). The first three are in Northern Sumatra, while the fourth is from an island (Bangka) off the coast of the Island. These are dated between Saka 604 and Saka 608 (A.D. 682-686). All these inscriptions contain Sanskrit words, among which found their way into the Philippine languages. Another inscription which is of later date but which contains also Sanskrit words which found their way into the Island languages is written in very Sanskritized Javanese found in Sukabumi near Kadiri in East Java. It is dated Saka 726 (A.D. 804).

> With the dates of the Old Malay Inscriptions, 682-686 A.D., and the Old Javanese inscription, 804 A.D., our point of reference is set. If by these dates we already become aware of the integration, rather naturalization, of Sanskrit words into the Old Malay and Old Javanese languages which belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family, we may attempt to set the introduction of Sanskrit words into the Philippine languages at a date between 900-1100 A.D. Within this period, we may reasonably say that the Sanskrit words travelled — by the process of slow percolation: the culture drift and stimulus. . .[4]

Archaeological dating seems to converge with the linguistic date. The archaeological evidences of Indo-Philippine contacts in proto-historic times are discovered in widely located areas in the Islands. In Southern Luzon, there is the Avalokitésvara-Padmapani clay medallion from Calatagan, Batangas, which had been dated iconographically within the 12th or 13th century A.D. as Buddho-Siamese art; and in terms of the associated materials excavated with it, it is decidedly 14th to 15th century in date. In the Central Philippines (the Bisayas), there are the bronze Lokesvara statue from Cebu and the golden Garuda pendant from Brooke's Point, Palawan.[5] The former is dated together with the Calatagan medallion within 12th and 13th century A.D., owing to its significant iconographic relation to Buddho-Siamese art. The latter belongs to the period covering the early years of the Majapahit or even the later years of the Sri Vijaya hegemonies — the 13th and 14th centuries A.D.

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[2] H. O. Beyer, *Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China* (Manila, 1948), p. 9-10.

[3] Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Indian Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 228-231.

[4] Juan R. Francisco, "On the Date of the Coming of Indian Influences in the Philippines," *Philippine Historical Review,* (vol. I, no. 1, November 1965), p. 136-152.

In Southern Philippines (Agusan Province), there is the golden Tara image. It has tantric connections, and therefore, may fall in date within the early part of the 14th century A.D. These stray datable archaeological artifacts would then fall within the 12th and 14th centuries; and, therefore, would converge in date with the language evidences. It is, indeed, significant to note that these two sets of evidences shall give a very clear picture of the influx of Indian cultural elements into the Philippines.

With regard to the date of the influx of Indian customs, manners and traditions, if there were any, into the Philippines, I have, more or less, arbitrarily set the date as pre-Hispanic. This is due to very hazy resemblance of these cultural elements, owing to the principle of culture changes as cultural elements are integrated in another culture milieu. I have, in fact, described these as analogous, but not necessarily fully influenced by Indian systems.[6]

With regard to the date of the introduction of writing in the Philippines, two sets of evidence may be adverted to here: the ethnographical and the archaeological. Ethnographically, two groups in the Philippines have preserved their systems of writing in the face of constant Spanish and American cultural pressures. The probable date of their introduction in the Islands is difficult to establish, if ever these culture tools were intrusive in their cultural history. However, with the discovery of a locally made pot with inscriptions around its mouth, found in association with Chinese and Siamese porcelain wares belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries, it is almost certain to set absolutely the probable date of the introduction of writing into the Islands. Concerning the date of the pot and the probable date of the introduction of writing in the Philippines, I wrote:

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[5] Juan R. Francisco, "Sri Vijaya and the Philippines — A Review," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* (vol. XXVI, no. 1, January-March 1961), p. 87-109.

[6] Juan R. Francisco, "Analogous Customs, Beliefs, and Traditions in India and the Philippines," *Historical Bulletin* (vol. VII, no. 2, June 1963), p. 143-177.

> ...All the association of this single artifact has been with these Chinese and Siamese wares which "may be dated as falling into the period between the late 14th century and the end of the 15th century or the early part of the 16th century.
>
> In spite of its associations which more or less would make the 14th century as its *terminus ad quo,* it may be still assumed that the script itself may have been introduced far earlier than that date considering the fact that writing in the South East Asian region was already widely used from the early centuries of the present era. It may be assumed further that the earliest date within which it has been introduced into the area would be towards the early part of he 12th century.
>
> Collating the date of the inscription — the introduction of the script used in it — which is between the 12th and the 14th centuries with the dates of the assumed introduction of Sanskrit (between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D.) and the appearance of archaeological artifacts with marked Indian or Indo-Malaysian characteristics (between the 12th and 14th centuries), it may be assumed with an amount of certainty that the use of writing may have reached the Philippines almost contemporaneously with the other aspects of Indian culture.
>
> It may also be pointed out that the comparative cursiveness of the scripts still in use among the Mangyan and the Tagbanuwa, as well as the very close affinity between these scripts and the Calatagan script may be due to the late introduction into the Philippines, whose developments was curtailed by the influx of new cultural systems in the area which were not tolerant enough to allow the newly acquired culture tool to flourish.[7]

PHILIPPINE SCRIPTS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEVELOPMENTS

The history of writing in the Philippines is tied up with that in South East Asia. In so far as the origins of Southeast Asian scripts are concerned, the problem is no longer debatable, except in certain instances when a new view comes up with sweeping generalities.

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[7] Juan R. Francisco, *Philippine Palaeography* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1966. Ms.), p. 98-99.

Quite extensive studies on the origin of the Cham alphabets[8] tended to show that they are of South Indian provenance. In 1932, however, R. C. Majumdar sought to establish that they are of Northern Indian origins of the Kusana type and character.[9] In 1936 K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, viewing the subject on a much broader perspective, apart from the palaeographic aspect alone, showed that these alphabets belong to the South Indian palaeographic traditions.[10] The debate between these two Indian scholars lasted for a few years, when in 1948 George Coedés wrote that the South Indian provenance of the Cham alphabets is more likely, because they showed the influence of Pallava scripts more than that of Kusana writings.[11]

The four rock inscriptions of Purnavarman dated 5th century A.D. and those found at Ci-Aruton, Jambu, Kebon Kopi near Buitenzorg and Tugu near Batavia, all from Western Java, used a system of writing very much affiliated with the Pallava scripts and the Vengi writing.[12] In close affinity with the Western Javanese scripts are those used in the inscription of Mulavarman in Eastern Borneo and dated, according to palaeographic studies, to the 5th century A.D.[13]

The Sumatran (Redjong, Batak and Lampong) and the Buginese (Celebes) scripts appear to be more indigenous in character, but palaeographic studies on these systems of writing point to their affinities with Kawi writing; or more appropriately, they are descended from the writings of Western Java.[14] The Sumatran system of writing appears to have been the origins of Philippine scripts (see below for more details), the former being descended from Western Java, which writing also was derived from South India.

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[8] Abel Bergaigne, "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Champa," in *Notices et Extraits des Mss de la Bibliotheque Nationale,* XXVII, 1re partie, 2nd Fascicule, Paris, 1893. See also Dani, op. cit., p. 231-237 and David Diringer, *The Alphabet. A Key to the History of Mankind* (New York: Philosophical Society, 1948), p. 403-405.

[9] R. C. Majumdar, "La Palaeographic des Inscriptions du Champa," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient,* XXXII, 2 (1932), p. 127, *et seq.*

[10] K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "L'Origine de l'Alphabet de Champa," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient,* XXXVI, 2 (1936), p. 233, *et seq.*

[11] Georges Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochino et d'Indonesie* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1948), p. 59.

[12] Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *India and Java* (Greater India Society Bulletin no. 5, Calcutta, 1933), p. 20-26.

[13] H. Kern, "Over de Sanskrit-opschriften van (Muara Kaman, in) Kutei (Borneo)," *Verspreide Geschniften,* vol. X (1922), p. 55-76, Also see J. Ph. Vogel, "The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), *"Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volken-Kunde,* vol. LXXIV (1918), p. 167-232.

Six views concerning the origins of Philippine scripts have been advanced by palaeographic scholarship in the Philippines. The first view by Isaac Taylor dates the introduction of writing into the Philippines, particularly the Tagalog, at sometime before the 8th century A.D.; he believes the writing to have come from the coast of Bengal. Taylor, in his study, by means of a text illustration shows the resemblances of the letters, *ga, ka, nga, ta, ma, ha,* and *u* in Kistna, Assam and Tagala (sic).[15] From this illustration, it may be inferred that Tagalog script may have been derived from either the Assam, or the Krishna River, in the now Andhra Pradesh state in South India.

The second view by Fletcher Gardner expounds the belief that Philippine scripts, particularly Mangyan and Tagbanuwa, have been derived from the Asoka alphabets.[16] This view seems to have been anticipated by T. H. Pardo de Tavera, who supports and expounds it in his work.[17]

The third view advanced by David Diringer shows that the alphabet of the inscriptions used in the Ci-Aruton of King Purnavarman (Western Java) constituted the earliest forms of Philippine syllabic writings. This alphabet underwent changes and was brought to the Islands by the intervention of Buginese writing.[18] This view finds support in Harold C. Conklin [19] and Robert B. Fox.[20] The fourth view is credited to Constantino Lendoyro who wrote that Philippine systems of writing are all indigenous, being the products of the inventive genius of her early peoples.[21]

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[14] Diringer, *op. cit.,* p. 429.

[15] Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet,* vol. II (London, 1883), p. 359-31.

[16] Fletcher Gardner, *Philippine Indic Studies* (San Antonio, Texas: Witte Memorial Museum, 1943), p. 93-96.

[17] T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *Contribucion para el Estudio de los Antiguos Alfabetos de Filipinas* (Losana: Imprenta de Jaumin Hermanos, 1884), p. 17-18.

[18] Diringer, *op. cit.,* p. 441.

[19] See reference to Harold C. Conklin regarding the Bugis origins of Tagbanuwa and other Philippine syllabaries in Robert B. Fox, *Religion and Society among the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, Philippines* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954), in footnote 1, Chapter I, p. 8.

[20] Robert B. Fox, "Note on the Negros-Bisayan Syllabary Recorded by Povedano," in *Transcript No. 2,* (Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago. 1954), Appendix 2, to *Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572*

The fifth, which may be called, for convenience, the Dravidian view, was expounded by V. A. Makarenko. He argues that the last of the "six waves of migration that passed through the Philippines archipelago from the Asian continent . . . (in) approximately . . . 200 B.C. . . . were the Malayans and the Dravidians. . ." who influenced the development of a Filipino script.[22]

All these views were subjected to a very severe scrutiny and were found wanting in terms of the various factors that may have obtained during the probable period of introduction of the Philippine scripts. This period was far too early, considering that the other corroborative evidences belong to a much later period, or that palaeographically, the intervening scripts do not belong to the same tradition. The former reason applies very much to the first, second and fifth views, while the latter, to the third view. The fourth view may even be more significant in this context, because it calls for a very highly developed culture of the Filipinos. It may well be the answer to the question whether the early Filipino *really* had a culture. This view (the fourth), however, may be dismissed, because, palaeographically, Philippine scripts are very much akin to northern Sumatran writings.

The sixth view, which became apparent in the course of very intensive studies of Philippine systems of writing, will therefore be dealt with. This theory may be described but briefly. In the process of quantification of the resemblances and fundamental similarities of basic form strokes of a great percentage, if not all, of the symbols for each letters, the conclusion was reached that the Sumatran scripts — extant as they still are— appear to be basically the same as the Philippine scripts as particularly exemplified by the extant writings of the Palawan Tagbanuwa and the Mindoro Mangyan. With this conclusion it may be inferred that either the Sumatran scripts were the origins of Philippine writings, or *vice versa,* in view of the fact that cultural movements took place from one region to another and back. Both may have an earlier system of writing as a common ancestor from which they later contemporaneously developed. This common ancestor may be one of the many systems of writing in the area.

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[21] C. Lendoyro, *The Tagalog Language* (Manila: El Mercantil, 1902), p. 4.

[22] V. A. Makarenko, "Some Data on South Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia," *Tamil Culture,* vol. XI, no. 1 (January-March, 1964), p. 86.

There are seventeen symbols in Philippine syllabic writings. In their comparative quantification, it was found that fourteen out of seventeen possible correspondences appear to be established in affinities. In terms of their extra-Sumatran kinships, however, it is still the South Indian Pallava-Grantha scripts that claim ancestry to these scripts, via the intervention of the scripts used in the Purnavarman inscriptions.

SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE SCRIPTS IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES

1. The influx of Philippine writings as cultural tools is indeed viewed only in terms of their advent to and development in the intervening regions, i.e., the Malaysian Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. Their introduction, however, has been subject to various views and theories that sometimes confusion ensues. One view argues for the direct Asokan influence upon them, another for an Assami-Kistna affinity, yet another for a direct Dravidian Tamil ancestry. Another view argues for the invention theory which, however, has been shown to have no valid base. The South Indian Pallava-Grantha (not Dravidian) has been accepted by scholars, but with the modification that the system had its intervening development in Western Java, through the Bugi forms. I have accepted the South Indian — Pallava-Grantha — provenance, but not the intermediary forms. I think that, in terms of the available data I have examined and in contrast to the Bugi origins, Philippine scripts had their early developments in the Sumatran systems of writing. The main evidence advanced for the Bugi provenance is that both Bugi writing and those of the Philippines have open-ended syllables. The Philippine-Sumatran affinity is based on the resemblances of basic form-strokes in both syllabic writings, and on both writing open-ended syllables.

The problem or problems connected with the Calatagan pot script are both archaeological and palaeographic, if not linguistic.

Its having been "acquired" through pot hunters creates doubt as to its archaeological relevance, which is generated into its palaeographic authenticity and linguistic antiquity. The solution of these problems would be simple if other similar inscribed pots belonging to the same age, scientifically excavated from the same site, would be found. So far, no other pots of the same provenance and with identical or similar inscriptions have appeared. This may be partly due to complete stoppage of excavation in the area.

At this juncture, it may not be amiss to mention here the latest notice of newly found groups, apart from the Buhid and Latag (*Hanunoo,* Conklin) Mangyan, in Mindoro, which have preserved their systems of writing. These groups are located in Central Mindoro Oriental, just north of the Buhid. A study of the tracings sent me by Fr. Antonio Postma, S.V.D., who had been working among these groups for the last ten years, shows that their scripts belong to the same palaeographic traditions as the other Philippine scripts. But they (the Central Mindoro Oriental Mangyan scripts) are far from being more cursive than the neighboring Buhid and Latag scripts, as well as the Tagbanuwa and other Philippine scripts. They partake both the lineo-angular and curvi-linear characteristics which are found in both Buhid and Latag, and Tagbanuwa. The cursive character of the scripts may indicate that the Central Mindoro group may have been the earlier recipients of said culture tools.

2. The period between the 7th and the 16th centuries was one of *great activity* in the Philippines, because it was the time when the Great Traditions — Indian, Arab and Chinese — began to exert influence upon the whole cultural configurations in the Islands.[23] In no time in the proto-history of the Philippines had there been changes of vast magnitude than in this period. India's share in these tremendous changes in the Philippines at this time can be traced only through the intervening regions; but it was one that had a far-reaching effect on the entire picture of the Islands. Her system of writing, among the most significant elements in these changes, enriched the means of communications of the people from proto-historic times up to even the present

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[23] Chinese Elements in Philippine culture have been definitely dated on the basis of a study of Chinese pottery and porcelain finds in various archaeological sites in the Philippines. See Robert B. Fox, "The Calatagan Excavations," *Philippine Studies,* vol. VII, No. 3, August 1959, p. 325-390. With plates and illus-

at least among the two ethnic groups that have preserved the system. One of these groups has even advanced to the point of using it in participating in the most advanced of democratic institutions — the election process.[24] It is to the credit of this group (the Tagbanuwa) for their cosmopolitan outlook, and at the same time to that of the government for recognizing their capabilities, because, in spite of their handicaps in their being classified as one of the cultural minorities, they have exhibited the capacity for integration into the mainstream of Philippine life.[25]

The widespread use of writing in proto-historic times led to many implications in the entire cultural history of the Philippines. The first recipients or users of it were the coastal and riverine communities which, by reason of their location, were primarily maritime or fishing in economy. Nevertheless, either way they could have not avoided the influencing power of equally maritime communities that lived on trade and traffic. The ethnic groups that still write in an ancient script are now mainly mountain peoples, but it can not be denied that in the past they were coast dwellers. Their literature — whether it be in songs and tales — gives the field worker a vivid picture of their coastal habitations and maritime activities (?). Their being in the mountains now is a result of their exodus in the face of newcomers, who were more advanced in technology and, thus, pushed them inland.

Another implication is that writing argues further for the view that Philippine culture is homogenous. This homogeneity becomes significant in terms of its implications to the languages using its different systems. It has been referred to elsewhere in this essay that writing has and had a widespread use in the

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trations. Also E. A. Manuel, *Chinese Elements in Tagalog*. Manila, 1954, and Wu Ching-Hong, "A Study of the References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from the Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, vol. XIV, nos. 1-2 (January-June 1959), p. 1-181.

The Arab aspect of this culture has been presented in historical perspective by Cesar Adib Majul, "Theories and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia." International Association of Historians of Asia, Second Biennial Conference, Proceedings (Taipei, Taiwan), 1962, p. 339-408.

[24] Juan R. Francisco, "The New Function of Ancient Philippine Script," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (October-December 1963), p. 416-423.

[25] *Ibid.*

Islands. It has been referred to also elsewhere in this essay that all its systems belong to the same palaeographic tradition showing similar if not identical palaeographic traits. These systems used to write the various languages of the islands would imply, if not entirely prove, the simplicity and unity of the phonetic methods of Philippine languages with very slight divergencies. These divergencies would be due merely to the idiosyncracies of each language, owing perhaps to relative geographic isolation, or to the insular nature of the Philippines.

The simplicity and unity of the phonetic system of Philippine languages may be expressed in terms of the problems relevant to the symbol representation of sounds in the scripts. The first significant problem is the representation of the *pepet* and the front rounded vowels, which are written in the scripts with the symbol for the *u*-vowel (high back rounded). Secondly, the representation of the diphthongs is certainly another problem in all of the scripts in use. The non-distinction between the liquid and the trill is another problem which has not been overcome by the scripts. All this, apart from the writing of open-ended syllables (i.e., the non-indication of the consonantal endings in actual writing), would argue for the homogeneity of Philippine culture in terms of palaeography.[26]

It is of significant interest to note that apart from the more important palaeographic aspect of Philippine scripts which tend to show a relatively homogenous culture in their broader perspective, writing — the type that has been presented in this essay — in all the regions in the Islands, with the exception of Mindanao and Sulu, was widespread. Hence, it is not ill-considered to argue that Philippine culture is uniform in its configurations, considering all the broader aspects of culture.

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[26] Juan R. Francisco, "Sound and Symbol in Philippine Language and Script." Paper presented to the XVII International Congress of Orientalists, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 13-19, 1967. Section 5: South East Asia — Linguistics.

Manuscript Holdings of the Dominican Archives on the Pagans of Northern Luzon

William Henry Scott

THE ARCHIVES OF THE DOMINICAN PROVINCE of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines, located in Santo Domingo Convent in Quezon City, contain a wealth of manuscript material pertaining to the ethnography and history of the pagan tribes of Northern Luzon. The majority of these documents are correspondence between missionaries and their superiors, or the Dominican hierarchy and civil officials, but there are also journals of military expeditions and missionary journeys, and lengthy reports on local customs and conditions in the field. They are usually of folio size and stitched together into booklets or *legajos*, being official copies made by Filipino amanuenses in an exquisite hand with frequent orthographic errors, or smaller-sized sheets of original correspondence in some Spanish father's cryptic scrawl, generally on rice paper. All are in an excellent state of preservation: of the 2,000 pages under consideration, only a few are difficult to read because of bleeding of the ink, and although there has been some damage by insects, none are torn, eaten through by the acid of the ink, or otherwise rendered illegible. Very little of this material has been published, although the Archives have been used by a few 20th century historians as a source for Dominican ecclesiastic and mission history, notably Fathers Julian Malumbres and Pablo Fernández.*

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* The journals of Fray José Tomás Marín's 1740-43 trips from Apayao to Dingras were published as "Documentos interesantes" in 1905 issue of *Libertas* with annotations by Father Malumbres, as were the first five chapters of Francisco Antolín's 1789 *Noticias,* while the same author's *La Misión de Ituy* and *Discurso sobre el gentio y poblacion de esta Misión* are presently being published by Father

Chronologically, the documents run from 1620 to 1900. The oldest is a notarized *Acta* of March 3, 1620, by the official secretary of an expedition to the Igorot gold mines, testifying to the fact that two Dominican priests said public mass in the village of Boa (site of a large public school just below Mines View Park in Baguio today), thereby establishing claim to missionary jurisdiction of the area. There are the official licenses for founding the mission of La Peña de Francia among the Mandayas in 1688, and the town of Tuga (Tabuk municipality, Kalinga-Apayao) in 1693, as well as a 1641 report from the Ilocos on "Earthquakes and events among the Igorots." From the 1680's come several documents by Fr. Pedro Jiménez on the early history of the missionary work among the pagans of the upper Magat River valley.

Eighteenth century holdings begin with the return to the Dominicans by the Augustinians of the new mission in the Carballo Sur (the border regions of the present provinces of Nueva Ecija and Nueva Vizcaya) in the 1740's—a 14-page report submitted to the Royal Audiencia, for instance, and Father Marín's accounts of his cross-country journeys from the Cagayan Valley to the Ilocos coast. The last two decades of the century are one of the richest sources of ethnographic material in the collection, and include hundreds of pages with descriptive titles like "Questionnaire and answers by the missionaries of Cagayan on the progress of their missions" dated in Tuao, May 20, 1778, an "Account of what happened in the Mission of Paniqui in Holy Week of 1787," and José de Figueroa's "Account in which all the towns of the province of Cagayan are distinguished with the greatest clarity possible" of the same year. Much of this renewed interest came as a result of the appointment of Francisco

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Honorio Muñoz, Archivist, in the *Publicaciones del Centro de Estudios Montañeses*, Santander. Francisco Gaínza's *Memoria sobre Nueva Vizcaya* was actually printed as a book in 1849, and Fr. Ruperto Alarcón's *Descripción de la religión, usos y costumbres de los Quiañganes, Bungianes, y Mayoyaos* was translated in full in the *Journal of the Folklore Society* (June 1965) and summarized as "The Ifugaos a hundred years ago" in the March 1967 issue of *Unitas*, while an abridged version appeared in the 1956 volume of *Voz Estudiantil*. The Rev. Fr. Pablo Fernández Villaroel, Provincial Archivist from 1951 to 1964, and author of the scholarly *Dominicos donde nace el sol* (Barcelona 1958), has also published several articles like "Missioneros entre Igorrotes" in the 1948 *Voz Estudiantil*, and his continuing scholarship and interest is demonstrated in his recent "The Mayoyaos in 1850" (*Acta Manilana* No. 3, April 1967) and in the gracious and generous cooperation which has made the present catalogue possible.

Antolín as Provincial Historian, a seasoned frontier priest who devoted his whole career to the study of the Igorots by personal inquiry, correspondence with other missionaries, and search through earlier publications and archives. The results of his research are contained in numerous reports and three book-length manuscripts of such importance as to require more detailed mention below.

The nineteenth century naturally has the largest number of items, and there is not a decade in which it is not possible to document the penetration of Spanish military or religious forces into the present province of Ifugao. Although both troops and priests had reached the major settlement of Kiangan by the middle of the 18th century (indeed, they had suffered a defeat there in 1767), our earliest eye-witness description of that town is Father Molano's letter of 1801. The second decade of the century saw more expeditions and missionary explorations which are reported in first-person accounts in the Archives, and a remarkable journal of military excursions into Ifugao between 1810 and 1825 written in the Isinay dialect of Aritao—which is probably the oldest example of a montane vernacular from Northern Luzon. Especially valuable are the reports of Col. Guillermo Galvey of his expeditions to Kapangan, Acupan, Kabayan, Suyoc, Kayan, Besao, Guinaang, Kiangan and Mayaoyao in the 1830's, reports which are the original source of much information on the Igorots in the works of such later authors as Sinibaldo de Mas, Buzeta and Bravo, Jean Mallat, Alfred Marche, Isabelo de los Reyes, and Fernando Fulgosio (only the first of whom gave credit to this source).

The increased missionary penetration which followed Galvey's conquests is reflected in the hundred letters and long reports of the next decade, and the continuing military conquest by the young Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mariano Oscáriz, whose detailed observations are preserved in his diary. The high watermark of this penetration is illustrated by such correspondence as that between Governor-General Narciso Clavería and the Dominican Provincials in the 1850's, and that written by missionaries actually resident in Mayaoyao and Kiangan. But by 1857 all these conquerors had retreated, and manuscripts dated in the '60's and '70's total scarcely a dozen pages. The century closed with the return of the Dominicans and the dominating figure of Father Juan Villaverde, road-builder and engineer, author of the *Supersticiones de los Igorrotes Ifugaos,* adviser to government officials, and outspoken defender of the Ifugaos against injustices by military personnel. The Archives contain several hundred pages in his own hand in addition to his published correspondence, including such revealing items as the blotted rough draft of a sharp letter of protest to the local commander, scratched over with his own angry revisions, which can nicely be compared with its final official form as preserved in the "Commandancias" file of the National Archives.

The greatest treasure of this collection is unquestionably Francisco Antolín's 1789 *Noticias de los infieles igorrotes en lo interior de la Isla de Manila, de sus minas de oro, cobre, y su comercio y de varias entradas, tentativas y gastos hechos para su descubrimiento y pacificación,* a veritable little archive itself which includes not only such scholarly apparatus as an index of references and an appendix of critic's comments, but a map, summaries of or quotations from many works now unobtainable, assessments of earlier accounts, and the full texts of dozens of Royal Cedulas, official documents, contemporary correspondence, and even Manuel Carrillo's complete *Breve relación de las misiones de las cuatro naciones llamadas Igorrotes, Tinguianes, Apayaos y Adanes* (Madrid 1756)! An impression of its value may be had simply by looking at a list of partial contents:

Part One, following an introduction, is divided into nine chapters, the first six of which are entitled: *Description of the mountainous land of the Igorots; Their people and number; Character, customs, products, and commerce; Other properties of this nation; Their religion and tribal government; Their arms, wars and slaves.* Chapter 7 is an account of various exploratory trips into Igorot territory between 1739 and 1788, all based on original sources or interviews with the travellers themselves, including Igorot converts sent out by the author the year in which he was writing, who brought back descriptions of the gold-mining techniques and the route by which the interior tribes traded in copper, cattle and slaves. Chapter 8 contains other sources of information such as references in the Capitulary Acts, and chapter

9 is an abridgment of two letters written by the missionaries of Asingan and Agoo in response to Fr. Antolín's inquiries.

Part Two is a collection of source materials presented in chronological order, beginning with resumés culled from official histories between 1571 and 1610. Then follow such documents as the 1619 "Opinion about the mines of the Igorots and Zambals —whether a just war can be made against the Igorots," a list of Igorot towns giving allegiance following the expeditions of Admiral Pedro Durán de Monforte to the Gran Cordillera in 1663-65, an account of the Igorots of Manaoag written in 1667, a 1785 extract from Governor-General Basco's diary which describes an Igorot dance given in his honor in Bangar, and the Royal Cedula of June 18, 1758, "exempting the Tinguianes, Igorots and other pagans from paying tribute if they are converted to our Holy Faith,"—all in all, 45 different documents in full or in extract. The work is concluded with an appendix which discusses in greater detail seven topics which were raised earlier in the text, namely: *The opinion which holds that the tribe of Igorots is descended from the Chinese is without basis; The journey to Cagayan by Don Luis, son of fifth Governor-General Dasmariñas, did not go by way of the Igorot territory but through Laguna de Bay and by sea from the opposite coast in Baler; Gold ores in Europe, Africa and America, and means of exploiting them; Philippine ores, especially those of the Igorots, and means of exploiting them; The ancient wealth of the Filipinos seems to be the same as what the Igorots now have; The Igorots have no special talent or skill for working gold, copper and steel.*

Much of the ethnographic information in the Archives will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the pagans of Northern Luzon in more recent times, but is of value nonetheless in providing details and extending the history of many modern customs centuries into the past. The use of bark G-strings 250 years ago is attested, as well as ones woven of a local thread made from a plant called *aramay,* and both plant and manner of preparation are described. The presence of what is called an *ato* in modern Bontoc is mentioned more than once in the southern part of the mountain region—a kind of male clubhouse in which young bachelors sleep together naked. Mining techniques are also described—real tunnels with wooden shoring inside, long sluiceways of earth, and ordinary panning in the streams—and the skill of the Igorots in marketing as well as production: *e.g.*, they readily adulterate the ore themselves but cannot be cheated by others. Practically every reference to Ifugao culture from the mid-18th century on could be duplicated in rural areas of that province today (except headhunting, of course), though the use of the headax in Mayaoyao is not nowadays remembered. So, too, the carrying of little scales on the persons of the gold-mining Benguets for use in ordinary marketing is a custom which has completely disappeared, as is a method of executing criminals by strangulation with a G-string.

The overall picture painted by these documents of the past three centuries, however, does give us a view of Igorot history not otherwise obtainable, and in many respects it is a new picture. The amount of commercial contact among the Cordillera tribes themselves had hardly been suspected—a local trade in copper, gold, slaves and foodstuffs which made the mountaineers at times independent of lowland imports except for cattle, cotton blankets and G-strings. The Ifugaos, who had no gold mines, are reported to have traded rice in Nueva Vizcaya for animals, and crude iron tools which their blacksmiths made from broken pieces of cast iron obtained originally from the lowlands. A 1690 account says that ironware from the Ilocos passed from hand to hand across the southern Cordillera to the region around Dalton Pass, then part of Pangasinan, and an 1834 petition complains that revenues in the Ilocos provinces are being acutely embarrassed by the illicit Igorot sale of tobacco grown in the Cagayan Valley.

Perhaps even more surprising is the amount and nature of Igorot contacts with the lowlands. Cattle were procured in numbers large enough to constitute real herds which the Igorots hired the poorer of their neighbors to pasture. There are reports of personal fortunes valued as high as ₱3,000, the use of silver coin-of-the-realm for making purchases in the Christian centers, and crude copper pots sold in the nearby mission towns. G-strings were woven on Ilocano looms for Igorot consumption, and lowlanders travelled about buying up carnelian beads to sell them at one gold peso each. Moreover, both Spaniards and lowland Filipinos were personally involved in the lucrative but illegal gold trade: in 1773 some Igorots burned the church in San

Nicolas because a local leader there had lost some gold lent him, and when the provincial governor ordered a punitive expedition against them, he also gave secret orders to collect the money the same Igorots owed him, for which palavering negotiations the expedition was a complete military failure.

The extent of slavery on the Cordillera is another aspect of Igorot history brought into sharper focus by these Dominican documents. It has always been known that Igorot raiding parties sometimes carried off lowlanders as slaves—or to be held for ransom—but it was not realized that much of the work in the richer mines was done by slave labor. Slaves were also sold to lowlanders, either from enemy tribes or culprits from the slavers' own tribe, with the tacit approval of the authorities on the grounds that these pagans at least would be converted, grounds vigorously attacked by one author in 1857. Of even greater interest and significance is the report, if accurate, that in one area slaves were kept as an actual social class, marrying among themselves and bearing slave offspring in exactly the manner reported of lowland Filipinos in the early years of the Spanish regime.

With the exception of a few scattered items from the Ilocos or lower Cagayan Valley, the Dominican holdings on the pagans of Northern Luzon are restricted to the present provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet and Ifugao. They make the economic disparity between these last two provinces clear—the Benguets are a cold, miserable people buying their few vegetables and camotes with gold, and really satisfying their appetites only when a rich man gives a feast, while the Ifugaos are a robust, rice-rich tribe so fierce as to be considered the last to be conquered. (This last observation, however, turned out to be misleading, for government correspondence in the National Archives and Augustinian records in Valladolid show that the Benguets were also able to resist Spanish occupation until the second half of the 19th century.) Their reputation as headhunters is first reported by Galvey in the 1830's, and their famous terraces are first mentioned by Fr. Antolín in 1789 and first described by an eye-witness in Fr. Molano's 1801 letter, although abandoned irrigated terraces in the upper Cagayan Valley are referred to as early as 1630.

This latter observation would have been most welcome to the late Felix M. Keesing who argued, in his posthumously published *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford 1962), that the whole Cordillera mountain region may have been uninhabited at the beginning of the Spanish regime except for the gold mines, and that the present population is directly descended from lowland refugees (*remontados*) fleeing foreign domination. Noting that irrigated rice was mentioned in the upper Magat River area in a 1593 account but not in later mission records, he suggested that the Ifugaos formerly lived there before moving into their present territory. This was just what Father Antolín thought in 1789, except he believed the migration took place earlier, and this is just what the Ifugaos themselves told Governor Oscáriz a half century later. In fact, documents of both the 18th and 19th centuries refer to Igorots collecting tribute from Christian farmers both in the upper Cagayan Valley and the Ilocos plains under claim to prior ownership of the land.

Another fact made abundantly clear is that Igorot resistance to Spanish conquest was deliberate and continuous. There appears to have no time when they did not have just as much communication with the lowland population and authorities as they wanted—and no more. They successfully defended their rugged territory by attacking invaders in narrow mountain defiles with stones and spears from above, and took care to keep their trails and trade routes secret. Incidents are recorded again and again where missionary fathers were refused passage through the mountains for this reason as well as for fear of lowland epidemics like smallpox, the fathers sometimes returning to force their way with armed escorts. They sent no youths or women down to trade, deceived or pretended not to understand those who asked questions, and at least once killed one of their own number for having disclosed a trail.

The Igorots were also self-conscious and outspoken about the virtues of their own culture and religion, considering the lowland settlements hot, deseased and troublesome. Father Antolín himself admits a certain idyllic side to their way of life—"They have nobody to order them to row, to act as porters, or cut wood; they work and drink as they wish and when they like"—and comments that neither the lowland epidemics nor taxcollectors are hidden from them. He quotes as typical of their attitude the following statement:

> The fiestas of the Christians aren't worth anything because it's all just a lot of noise-making with bells and drums and muskets, and then everybody just goes home to his own house to eat what little he has. But the fiestas of our leaders are not like that; they are tastey and satisfying and don't have all that racket. They kill the animals by the dozens, and everybody drinks till he passes out, and so it goes for many days. Among you, anybody is mayor or headman, but our leaders are never changed. No matter how much they spend, they always have more.

So, too, the attitude of the Dominican fathers toward the pagan Igorots is made abundantly clear: they considered it a duty divinely sanctioned to conquer and convert them to a civilized Christendom. An anonymous 18th century document states:

> Even as Divine Majesty implanted the desire for the preservation of the individual and the species in all natural actions, just so He planted the abundance of gold and silver in almost all the Indies so that with this incentive men would be inspired to leave their countries and set out to go to lands so remote, and in their wake would also come the preachers of the Gospel, which is the main end of Divine Providence.

The process of which this conquest and conversion was to take place was called *reducción,* and Father Antolín could write with evident passion that so many still suffered the misfortune of not having been reduced, —

> that these pagans still remain in the evils of their infidelity and that their gold mines are almost dormant and without profit because they only get the gold when they make up their minds to buy animals from the Christians, eat them, and get drunk in their fiestas and pagan banquets—just enough to keep themselves independent and separate from the Christians, with grave danger and harm to their souls, and almost without any hope since, although they are practically under our very noses, nobody seems to remember them.

The following list of manuscript holdings of the Dominican Archives on the pagans of Northern Luzon was compiled from microfilm copies in the Mosher Library of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, Quezon City, and is not quite complete, a dozen or so known documents having been overlooked in the photocopying which took place under the direction of Father Pablo Fernández between 1965 and 1967. Marginal notations and headings on the originals show them to have been subjected to more than one classification system in the history of the Archives. At one point they were listed under "Archivo 3°" with subdivisions into *cajones* by provinces and *legajos* by binding, and at another time by *tomos*, larger books into which they had been rebound. In this century, however, they were removed from even these inexact and conflicting categories for photocopying, and Father Fernández is therefore reclassifying them at present under a system illustrated by the following entry:

APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas) — Ochoteco 1852. This indicates a manuscript letter (*carta*) written by Ochoteco in 1852, to be found in the Cagayan Valley section of the *Archivos de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario.*

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1. Aguilar, Lucas. Earthquakes and events among the Igorots, transcribed from a letter from a prior in the Ilocos to Fr. Francisco de Madrid, 1641, 1 page. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.
2. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to the Governor General from Carig, Dec. 27, 1844, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
3. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to the Provincial of Ytuy and Paniqui from Cauayán, July 24, 1845, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
4. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Vicente Ayala from Camárag, July 30, 1845, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
5. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Antonio Xabet from Camárag, Aug. 12, 1845, 7 pages. *Ibid.*
6. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Antonio Xabet from Camárag, Aug. 26, 1845, 5 pages. *Ibid.*
7. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Antonio Xabet from Camárag, Sept. 5, 1845, 1 page. *Ibid.*
8. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Gov. Narciso Claveria from Camárag.
9. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Antonio Xabet from Camárag, Oct. 24, 1845, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
10. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Report to the Central Government from Cauayán, December 1845, 4 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.
11. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Juan Ferrando from Camárag, Dec. 1, 1845, 6 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

12. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Vicente Ayala from Camárag, Sept. 4, 1846, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

13. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Antonio Xabet from Cauayán, Sept. 17, 1846, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

14. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter from Cauayán, Dec. 23, 1846, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

15. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to the Governor General from Cauayán, Dec. 28, 1846, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

16. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to José Misa from Cauayán, June 2, 1848, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

17. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Juan Ferrando from Cauayán, June 7, 1848, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

18. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Vicente Ayala from Cauayán, June 11, 1848, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

19. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Vicente Ayala from Camarág, June 14, 1848, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

20. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Governor Narciso Clavería from Cauayán, July 11, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

21. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. A judgment by the undersigned, from Cauayán, Sept. 17, 1848, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

22. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. List of donations received to buy carabaos to help the pagan Gaddangs, with covering letter to Rafael de Castro from Cauayán, Nov. 8, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

23. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. "Article No. 2: What were conditions these last years?" from Cauayán, Nov. 10, 1848, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

24. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Francisco Gainza from Cauayán. Nov. 11, 1848, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

25. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Opinion about the creation of missions in Mayoyao, from Bambang, Dec. 30, 1848, 5 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.

26. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Diary of Rev. Fr. Remigio Rodriguez del Alamo, missionary of Cauayán, on his first trip to the land of Mayoyao in the month of March 1849, unpaginated. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.

27. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Statement to the Governor General on June 14th, an excerpt copied from some other letter. *APSR. MS. Sección "Cagayan" (Cartas)*.

28. Alamo, Remigio Rodriguez del. Letter to Vicente Ayala from Camárag, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

29. Alaminos, Francisco de. Letter No. 39 to the Governor General from Tumauini, May 28, 1874, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

30. Alarcón, Ruperto.* Letter to Francisco Gainza from Bungian, Oct. 26, 1849, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
31. Alarcón, Ruperto. Letter to Jose Ochoteco from Bagabag, Feb. 3, 1853. *Ibid.*
32. Alban, Francisco. Report given by Bishop Alban in the Provincial deputation in Manila in 1823, 4 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.
33. Alvarez, Rafael. Letter to the Central Government from Camarág, Dec. 27, 1843, 3 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.
34. Anonymous. License of the Government for the foundation of the town of Tuga in the Province of Cagayan, Nov. 17, 1693. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Pueblos)*.
35. Anonymous. Brief exposition of the land and character of the pagans called Igorots: their habits, mores and customs, ca. 1800, unpaginated and unsigned. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.
36. Anonymous. Letter from the Provincial to the Governor General from Manila, May 24, 1817, 6 pages. *APSR, MS. Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.
37. Anonymous. (Prieto, Juan?) Military expedition against the Igorots in the year 1818, unpaginated. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.
38. Anonymous. (Masoliver, Rafael?) Letter to Francisco Rocamora from Lallo, Jan. 31, 1838, 1 page. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayan" (Cartas)*.
39. Anonymous. (Xabet, Antonio?) General statement of the number of murders by the Mayoyaos in Nueva Vizcaya, from Dupax, Aug. 31, 1845, 1 page. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.
40. Anonymous. Letter to the Central Government from Cauayán, December 1845. 6 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayan" (Cartas)*.
41. Anonymous. Letter to the missionary of Kiangan from Bagabag, Aug. 29, 1852, 5 pages. *Ibid.*
42. Anonymous. (Vilanova, Jose Tomas?) Report about the Mission of Mayoyao in reply to the official communication of the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya dated Sept. 8, 1853, from Mayoyao, Sept. 10, 1852, 3 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Carta-informes)*.
43. Anonymous. Letter No. 38 to the Governor General from (the parish priest of?) Tumauini, May 28, 1874, 3 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección (Cartas)*.

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* Father Alarcon's "Descripcion de la religion, usos y costumbres de los Quianganes, Bungianes y Mayoyaos" of 1857 was missing from the Archives at the time this list was compiled. An abridged version appears in *Voz Estudiantil*, Feb.-March p. 40-46, and August p. 56-64, 1956, and a complete English translation appears in the *Journal of the Folklore Society*, vol. 2 no. 11 (June 1965), p. 78-100.

44. Anonymous. Present state of our relations with the chieftains of the pagan races of the Province, n.d., 3 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán"* (*Informes*).

45. Antolín, Francisco. Account of what happened in the Mission of Paniqui in this Holy Week of 1787, 21 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán"* (*Relaciones*).

46. Antolín, Francisco. The Mission of Ytuy, its discovery, occupation and events, a chronological compendium concerning the road to Cagayan, *ca.* 1787, 247 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán"* (*Tomo 110*).

47. Antolín, Francisco. Reports of the pagan Igorots in the interior of the Island of Manila, of their gold and copper mines, and their commerce, and the various expeditions, endeavours and expenditures made for their discovery and pacification, 1789, 121 pages (4 copies). *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán"* (*Informes*).

48. Antolín, Francisco. Some points for the information of the Governor and reasons against the desirability of dividing the government of Nueva Vizcaya, Oct. 27, 1791, 22 pages. *Ibid.*

49. Antolín, Francisco. The Missions of Ytuy and Paniqui in the interior of this Island of Manila, from Cavite, June 1792, 17 pages. *Ibid.*

50. Antolín, Francisco. Discourse on the population of this Mission of Ytuy and Paniqui, *ca.* 1793, 95 pages (?). *Ibid.*

51. Añibarro, Tomás, *et al.* Questionnaire and answers of the missionaries of Cagayan to Juan Fernandez on the advance of their missions, from Tuao, May 20, 1778, 15 pages. (Includes a list of rivers and villages of Maloeg, and a Royal Cedula of 1744.) *Ibid.*

52. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Antonio Xabet, July 14, 1845, 1 page. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán"* (*Cartas*).

53. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Antonio Xabet, Aug. 22, 1845, 1 page. *Ibid.*

54. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Aug. 25, 1845, 1 page. *Ibid.*

55. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Remigio Rodriguez del Alamo, Sept. 15, 1845, 1 page. *Ibid.*

56. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Remigio Rodriguez del Alamo from Lolomboy, Jan. 2, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

57. Ayala, Vicente. Letter to Remigio Rodriguez del Alamo from Manila, Aug. 7, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

58. Brugués, José. Letter to Ruperto Alarcon from Bagabag, Feb. 20, 1878, 5 pages. *Ibid.*

59. Brugués, José. Descriptions of towns, 1900 (only fols. 263-278 pertain to pagans), 30 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Pueblos)*.

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61. Caro, Domingo. Letter to Manuel Corripio from Bangbang, Oct. 30, 1778, 4 pages. *APSR, MS. Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

62. Castro, Rafael de. Letter to the Vicar Provincial and other missionaries of our Order in Nueva Vizcaya, from Manila, June 14, 1852, 1 page. *Ibid.*

63. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Bongabon, April 17, 1846, 1 page. *Ibid.*

64. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, May 3, 1846, 1 page. *Ibid.*

65. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, June 8, 1846, 1 page. *Ibid.*

66. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Sept. 13, 1846, 1 page. *Ibid.*

67. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Dec. 14, 1846, 1 page. *Ibid.*

68. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Jan. 25, 1847, 1 page. *Ibid.*

69. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Mar. 1, 1847, 1 page. *Ibid.*

70. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Apr. 26, 1847, 1 page. *Ibid.*

71. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Nov. 15, 1847, 1 page. *Ibid.*

72. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Jan. 24, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

73. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, July 10, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

74. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Politico-Military Governor of Nueva Vizcaya from Manila, Dec. 2, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

75. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Manila, Dec. 4, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

76. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Francisco Gaínza from Malinta, Dec. 25, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*

77. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Francisco Gaínza from Manila, Feb. 2, 1849, 1 page. *Ibid.*

78. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to the Provincial from Manila, Feb. 6, 1849, 1 page. *Ibid.*

79. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Malacañan, Feb. 26, 1849, 1 page. *Ibid.*

80. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Remigio Rodríguez del Alamo from Malacañan, Apr. 2, 1849, 1 page. *Ibid.*

81. Clavería, Narciso. Letter to Francisco Gaínza from Malacañan, Apr. 23, 1849, 1 page. *Ibid.*

82. Cora, Nicolás. Report given the Central Government on the missions of the Province in 1785, 11 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes).*

83. Corripio, Manuel. Letter to the Provincial from Dupax, Oct. 25, 1778, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas).*

84. Crespo, Juan. Letter to Manuel Corripio from Bayombong, Oct. 25, 1778, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

85. Elorriaga, Francisco. Letter to the Provincial from Mungia (Binatangan), Dec. 19, 1895, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

86. Figueroa, José de. Account in which all the towns of the Province of Cagayan are distinguished with the greatest clarity possible, Nueva Segovia, Oct. 20, 1787, 24 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones).*

87. Folgueras, Mariano Fernández. Letter to Carlos Arbea from Manila, May 29, 1817, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes).*

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89. Fondevila, Lorenzo. Letter to Carlos Arbea from Bambang, Aug. 21, 1830, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

90. Fondevila, Lorenzo. Letter to Juan Ferrando from Bambang, Nov. 17, 1842, 7 pages. *Ibid.*

91. Fondevila, Lorenzo. Letter to Francisco Rocamora from Bambang, Jan. 12, 1843, 7 pages. *Ibid.*

92. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter to Don Juan Basilio Salud from Cabagan, May 20, 1847, 7 pages. *Ibid.*

93. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Vigan, May 24, 1845, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

94. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter to Mariano Oscáriz from Cayayan, Sept. 20, 1848, 2 pages. *Ibid.*

95. Gaínza, Francisco. Some notes on the foundation or transfer of the town of Our Lady of Atocha of Angadanan to this location of Duddugan, Dec. 19, 1848, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Pueblos).*

96. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter to Narciso Clavería from Carig, Dec. 29, 1848, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas).*

97. Gaínza, Francisco. Description of Kiangan, Oct. 1, 1849, 14 pages (?). *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.

98. Gaínza, Francisco. Necrology of Father Alamo, 1849, 4 pages. (Appeared in *Diario de Manila,* April 29, 1849) *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Personal)*.

99. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter from Manila, June 1852, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

100. Gaínza, Francisco. Topographical description of the terrain inhabited by the pagans from Abra to Pangasinan and from Ilocos to Cagayán, 1855, 57 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.

101. Gaínza, Francisco. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Manila, Feb. 10, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

102. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Kapañgan on Nov. 23, 1830, 5 pages. *APSR, MS, Seccion "Cagayan" (Relaciones)*.

103. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition with the first crossing of the Gran Cordillera from this province to Cagayán, returning through Nueva Ecija in December of 1830, 6 pages. *Ibid.*

104. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to the mines of Libung and Acupan in February of 1831, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

105. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition with the second crossing of the Gran Cordillera to Cagayán, and Kiangan in the mountains of that province, in March of 1832, 8 pages. *Ibid.*

106. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Kabayan in the month of February of 1833, 7 pages. *Ibid.*

107. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Suyoc mines in February of 1833, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

108. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Kayan in December of 1833, 6 pages. *Ibid.*

109. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to the Busaos and Guinaanes in January of 1835, 8 pages. *Ibid.*

110. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition through the new road in March of 1835, 4 pages. *Ibid.* .

111. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Kiangan and Mayoyao in the mountains of Cagayan in February of 1837, 18 pages. *Ibid.*

112. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition —? dated April 13, 1837, 1 page. *Ibid.*

113. Galvey, Guillermo. Expedition to Tiagan in January of 1839, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

114. *Gobernadorcillos* (local officials). Letter to Carlos Arbea from the *Gobernadorcillos* of Bayombong, Bambang, Solano, and Bagabag, Nov. 18, 1831, 7 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán (Cartas)*.

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117. Guixa, Joaquin. Letter to the Politico-Military Governor from Bayombong, Dec. 21, 1867, 4 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

118. Guixa, Joaquín. Letter to Pedro Payo from Bayombong, Aug. 22, 1868, 6 pages. *Ibid.*

119. Hevia-Compomanes, José. Letter to the Overseas Minister about the Igorots, from Vigan, July 21, 1891, 8 pages. *Ibid.*

120. Jiménez, Pedro. Account of the beginning of the mission to the Mandayas, July 8, 1685, 14 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.

121. Jiménez, Pedro. First report on the Igorots, 1685, 9 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.

122. Jiménez, Pedro. Description of Paniqui, *ca.* 1690, 4 pages. *Ibid.*

123. Jiménez, Pedro, Account by the Ven. Fr. Maza y Jiménez (?). n.d., 9 pages. *Ibid.*

124. Jiméno, Teodoro. Letter to the Provincial from Bambang, Jan. 20, 1896, 1 page. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

125. Lázaro, Joaquín. Memorandum on the reduction of the pagans of Nueva Vizcaya written in 1886, addressed to Lucio Asensio, 17 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Memorias)*.

126. Lleman, Agustin, *et al.* Letter to Carlos Arbea from Aritao, March 28, 1830, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

127. Marín, José Tomás. Letter to the Provincial from Dingras, June 22, 1740, 6 pages. *Ibid.*

128. Marín, José Tomás. Letter to the Provincial from the Mission of San Antonio to the Mandayas, July 5, 1741, 1 page. *Ibid.*

129. Marín, José Tomás. Letter to the Provincial from Malagueg, —(?)— 15, 1741, 3 pages. *Ibid.*

130. Marín, José Tomás. Explanation of the state of the churches and towns of Futul and Capinatan, Feb. 10, 1743, 3 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Pueblos)*.

131. Marín, José Tomás. Letter to the Provincial, Aug. 7, 1743, 13 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.

132. Marín, José Tomás. The journeys of Fr. Tomás Marín around the missions to the Mandayas, and to Dingras, from June 22, 1740,

to Aug. 7, 1743, 30 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.

133. Martín, Mariano. Letter from Camarág, Feb. 12, 1847, 2 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.
134. Martín, Mariano. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Carig, May 5, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*
135. Martín, Mariano. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Camárag, July 14, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*
136. Martín, Mariano. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Carig, Sept. 28, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*
137. Martín, Mariano. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Angadanan, Nov. 10, 1848, 1 page. *Ibid.*
138. Martín, Mariano. Letter to Ramón Rodríguez from Carig, Jan. 8, 1849, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
139. Masoliver, Rafael. Letter to Francisco Rocamora from Manila, June 5, 1837, 3 pages. *Ibid.*
140. Masoliver, Rafael. Letter to Luis de Lardizabal from Manila, Feb. 3, 1839, 4 pages. (Report on the pagans of Nueva Vizcaya) *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Informes)*.
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143. Menchua, Pedro. Topographical and statistical notes on Nueva Vizcaya in 1839, 13 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Relaciones)*.
144. Molano, Juan. Letter to Francisco Piñero (with copy to Pedro Galan) from Bayombong, Aug. 5, 1801, 2 pages. *ibid.*
145. Mutta, Domingo. Letter to Provincial Cristobal Pedroche from Abulug, Mar. 21, 1693, 8 pages. *APSR, MS, Sección "Cagayán" (Cartas)*.
146. Ochoteco, José. Letter to Francisco Gaínza from Camarag, Mar. 5, 1852, 4 pages. *Ibid.*
147. Ochoteco, José. Letter to the Governor General from Camarag, Apr. 12, 1852, 2 pages. *Ibid.*
148. Ochoteco, José. Letter to José Tomás Vilanova, Sept. 17 [1852], 2 pages. *Ibid.*
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Postscript to the British Invasion

Carlos Quirino

THE RELATIVE EASE with which Great Britain took Manila in 1762 tempted other British quarters to repeat this conquest during the early years of Napoleon's meteoric rise in the Continent. The author recently acquired from a London bookseller contemporary copies of two letters written in 1804 to the chairman of the British East India Company bluntly urging the conquest of Manila in the global conflict against Napoleon.

The writer of these letters, a certain Eardley Wilmot Michell, must have been either a consular official in Manila at the close of the eighteenth century — for he speaks of having made observations in 1796 — or a representative of some commercial firm. These were the days before the port of Manila was opened to foreign trade, when the Manila-Acapulco galleons monopolized Philippine trade with the outside world.

Rafael de Aguilar was then the governor general of the islands. Spain, under the aging Charles IV, had sided with the French in their war against England. A royal order in 1796 transferred the naval base at San Blas de California to Cavite, and gave impetus to the creation of a permanent Spanish navy in the archipelago. The Spanish squadron in the Far East was placed under Admiral Ignacio de Alava, who pursued a British contigent in Asiatic waters in 1800-1802 without results.

In 1893 the British, carrying the war against France and Spain in this part of the world, attacked and captured the island of Balambagan in northernmost Borneo, south of Palawan. British policy and action in southeast Asia were guided by the East India Company, a commercial firm founded some three centuries earlier for exploiting trade in India and the Orient. It is therefore not strange that the plan to invade Manila was first broached to the chairman of the East India Company in London, Sir William F. Elphinstone, the wealthy and influential head of the British government's alter ego in Asia.

These two communications, together with an annotation by a strange and unknown hand — perhaps by some official of the British Admiralty — appear hereunder.

3 December 1804
Hurstmonceaux

To Mr. Woolmore, Manila
My dear Sir:

Enclosed you will receive the Memorandum for the Chairman. If on the perusal, it fully meets your approbation both as to quantity and precision, be so good to forward it — if personally it might give Sir William (Elphinstone) an opportunity of asking an explanation on some points which your general nautical knowledge can easily resolve.

If Government are [*sic*] apprehensive that our China ships may be molested from the Naval Force of the Spaniards in Manila, this force can be annihilated by one Blow. Our ships might arrive in the Bay early in September and either destroy their Fleet in Cavite or follow them to their cruizing station on the Coast of China. This effected, the Change of Monsoon would enable them to return to their original stations in India after a short absence. I feel confident this can be effected with little loss. The Fortifications of Cavitt to the Sea consist of a weak parapet with wide Embrassures and not tenable against a 50 gun ship. The Naval Force at Manila in February 1796 consisted of two Frigates lately arrived and 16 or 17 Gun Boats and Gallies.

Any further information which you may require that I am able to give, I shall feel myself happy in explaining.

I am, My dear Sir,

Your obedient & faithful servant,
(Sgd.) E. W. MICHELL

[The following note has been added by a different hand:]

Orders may be sent to the Com'm in chief in India to ascertain the Naval Force of Manila and Cavitt and if there should be any line of battleships or Frigates at those places he may be further directed to make an attack for the purpose of taking or destroying them.

To the Honorable W. F. Elphinstone, Chairman of the Honble. East India
Company, etc., etc.

Sir:

In obedience to your Commands to commit to paper any circumstances which I can bring to my recollection of the situation from Manila in February 1796, I have now the honor to submit the few following Remarks to [sic] your perusal.

The S. W. Monsoon in the Bay of Manilla commences in May and continues till September, during which time the Anchorage in Manila Roads is rendered unsafe from the frequent gales of W. S. W. Winds. These gales often occur in the following months of October and November; therefore ships usually remain at Cavitt till the end of Novem. or early in Decem., from which period their situation at the Barr is perfectly secure. The Anchorage in Manilla Roads for large vessels is in 7 fathoms — Distance from the Fort 2 miles.

The Port of Cavitt — so termed by the Spaniards — affords a most excellent shelter from the S. W. Monsoon, and here their Galleons are built and their ships repaired. The King and the Royal Philippine Company have each a Naval Arsenal of Marine Stores, which were tolerably well replenished from Europe in January 1796; but in the event of these supplies failing, their local advantages are superior to most countries in Asia, in producing materials requisite for fitting and repairing ships; as timber for every purpose of ship-building, and masts of the largest dimensions are procured in the neighborhood; and the adjacent islands furnished them with a species of hemp, well known in the Eastern Seas, called by them Havacka [abaca] which they manufacture into cordage of all sizes, and I may add to these advantages — that of completing any deficiency in their crews from the natives, who are known throughout India for their superiority over every other description of Asiatic seamen. The usual method of repairing ships here is by careening, with some few exceptions, to their Galleons. Their wharfs and careening gear are on a large scale, and adapted to ships of all sizes . . . indeed the Spaniards excell most other nations in this art.

Ships anchor here in from 5 to 7 fathoms, at a distance of a mile or more from the fortifications, altho' in rounding the point, the works can be approached by large ships within pistol shot, but in this situation ships moored under these batteries for protection from an enemy, would be exposed to the violence of the western gales — and in no secure position could large ships with their stores on board, be materially protected by the fortifications. The Galleons when dismantled are worked up the Harbour, and generally take the mud at low water. In this situation they are partially secured from assault by the fortifications. The distance from the entrance of the Bay, where ships are first discovered, to Cavitt is 25 or 26 miles, and to the anchorage in Manilla Roads 32 miles; but as ships from the sea, who arrive in the S. W. monsoon bring with them a strong breeze with smooth water, their approach is very rapid and affords but little time for preparation.

I have the honor to remain, etc., etc.

(Sgd.) EARDLEY WILMOT MICHELL

* * *

Note that Michell's first letter was written on the day after Napoleon Bonaparte had crowned himself at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris as Emperor of the French. The previous year, May of 1803, the treaty of Amiens had been scrapped and England and France were again at war. British feeling against Napaleon [and his Spanish ally] was running high and all sorts of proposals to defeat the alliance must have been submitted by responsible quarters to the administration headed by the younger William Pitt, the prime minister. This particular proposal must have been tabled or disapproved by the British Admiralty, for had not the British captured Manila in 1762 to lose it soon thereafter by a treaty? The Admiralty must have decided that the Spanish squadron in the Far East was not a real threat to their possessions in India and elsewhere — hence, why waste effort in such a venture? The lords of the Admiralty must have decided that defeating the combined French and Spanish fleets in Europe was of primary importance, and the destruction of the enemy at the famous sea battle at Cape Trafalgar (near the Straits of Gibraltar) on October 21, 1805, proved them right: for Napoleon's dream to invade England was dispelled, and the long road that ended at Waterloo had started.

Book Reviews

Four books published under Republic Act 1881

Dalmacio Martin

I. Discursos de Malolos y Poesias Filipinas en Español

The subject of this critique is a government publication entitled *Discursos de Malolos y Poesias Filipinas en Español,* Bureau of Printing, 1963, 228 pages. It is the third edition, "Revisada y Aumentada", so it says on the cover. It also says "Por la Patria" under the symbol of the national flag. The book is for Spanish 7 and Spanish 8 where the Spanish program, under Republic Act 1881, is divided into eight 3-unit courses.

As suggested by the title, the book has two essential parts: first, the "discurso" part and, second, the "poesias" part. Let us first treat of the former.

Passing up the three prologues over the signatures of three successive ex-secretaries of education and skipping over the Table of Contents, we find before us text pages 8-27, inclusive. This is the prose part that can justify the title *Discursos de Malolos.* The rest of the book after page 27 is "poesias."

P. 8-9. "Discurso de D. Pedro A. Paterno al Congreso de Malolos."

Was September 15 the date of this speech? When was he installed as President of Congress? Historical sources available to the reviewer all say that this speech of Paterno was made on September 17, two days after Aguinaldo had opened Congress. (See M. Kalaw, *Dev. of Phil. Politics,* p. 125, and Agoncillo, *Malolos,* p. 282-83.)

How the editors decided what parts of the original text to offer and what to omit is not being questioned here. But at least the reader should know whether the material before him is given in full, or is only an excerpt of the whole.

P. 10-11. "Mensajé del General D. Emilio Aguinaldo al Congreso de Malolos."

Why should this come *after* Paterno? Chronologically, it was ahead, having been delivered on September 15. And it should always be Aguinaldo before Paterno in any case.

It is of record that this "mensaje" by Aguinaldo was read in Tagalog. A Spanish version was also read afterwards, but one reporter said that the Spanish translation did not seem to express the exact meaning of Aguinaldo. (Millet, *Expedition to the Philippines,* p. 264.) Does this piece, in its Spanish translation, fulfill the high purpose of Republic Act 1881 to teach historical materials "in their original Spanish versions"?

P. 12-13. "Contestación del Presidente del Congreso al Mensaje . . ."

Is a more "contestación" like this to the message of Aguinaldo on September 15 worthy of inclusion here? This is the second Paterno piece in the volume.

P. 15-15. "Proclamación de la Republica."

This third Paterno piece is given the title that seems to make it appear that Paterno was the one who made the Proclamation. It was not Paterno who did the proclaiming some three months before, on June 12. This ratification — for that's what it was — was delivered on September 29.

Are these all the "outstanding speeches" worth dignifying in a textbook? Foreman said that "the summary of all the debates in the Revolutionary Congress of 1898, printed reports of which I have before me," could not be included by him in his *The Philippine Islands* for want of space, but they must be available somewhere. (Foreman, Third Edition, p. 469.)

But the most serious question that the anthologist should ask himself is: Is the Maguinoo" entitled to this triple honor? Writers have compared him to Manuel Godoy in his ambitions. Aguinaldo himself would probably have doubted the emphasis on the man in the "Discursos." John Foreman described how he, "the Mediator," had asked to be made a Duke or Prince and be given one million Mexican dollars to boot, in payment for what

Mabini later described as the comedy of Biak-na-bato. In "Un Museo y un Thé" we find how the lavishness of the Madrid life of the man must have distressed Rizal. "Simply ridiculous," Retana said (*Vida*, p. 79). How can we justify highlighting the study of our "Discursos de Malolos" through him?

P. 16-17. "Los Presidentes de Filipinas a Favor del Español."

What is this piece doing here in this volume since not one among the four — Macapagal, Garcia, Quirino, and Quezon — had been a participant in Malolos?

P. 18-23. "Seria Una Tragedia Prescindir del Castellano."

The same comment, the same question. The author of this 6-page piece was not part of the Malolos events.

P. 24-27. "En Defensa del Español," por Claro M. Recto.

The same comment. What has the author of this 4-page selection to do with Malolos? Can polemics not be laid aside for a while so we can concentrate on the production of more worthy curriculum material?

This marks the end of the "Discurso" part of the volume. Actually we have labored and brought forth a mouse, to use a common expression, considering the high cost of printing today, the high purpose of Republic Act 1881, and the value of the time the students must spend in Spanish 7 and Spanish 8.

To turn now to the second part of the book, p. 27-228, poetry, one can very well ask if the poems presented are the "great poems" of the "notable Filipino poets," borrowing the adjectives in Republic Act 1881. Looking at the Table of Contents, p. iii-v, one immediately asks one's self how many of the twenty-seven poets represented in the volume would meet the requirement. At least two of them were born Spaniards, according to the brief biographical notes, p. vii-xvii. A third has been a resident of Spain for the last forty-five years. One poem is anonymous. I thought "Filipino poets" are the expected contributors, following the law.

On the biography of poet Jose Rizal, p. xv, one notes an obvious error: Rizal was not 14 when he wrote "Junto Al Pasig"; he was 19.

Two of the poems bear the date 1962. How quickly can one be sure that a poem is a "great" poem?

The "Balagtasan," by Balmori and Bernabe, is more than one-fourth of the total book. Is this a desirable proportion of space in poetry for Filipinos in Spanish?

Republic Act 1881 specifically mentions poets Apostol, Balmori, Bernabe, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Jose Palma, Recto, Rizal, Victoriano and Zaragoza y Cano, — nine of them. They are only one-third of the total number of twenty-seven poets included in the anthology.

A content analysis of some of the poems of the remaining two-thirds of the "notables" will be a later study.

II. Mabini's Memorias de la Revolución Filipina

> "The course involves the study of the memoirs of Mabini on the Philippine Revolution with emphasis on a reading knowledge of the said revolution in Spanish and on self-expression as regards the events and ideas embraced. Also taken up in the course is the study of the speeches at the Malolos Congress. Textbooks: Memorias de la Revolución Filipina de Apolinario Mabini."

Everybody would like to get clearer course descriptions than the above. What, for instance, is meant by "reading knowledge of the revolution"? This is an unusual expression; the only way for the students to know about the revolution is of course through reading. We don't want to think that this advocates reading without sufficient understanding, as is often the case with teachers who are not really qualified for their work. What does "emphasis on self-expression" really mean here? That the students should be able to talk and write well about Mabini's *Memorias?* How can they? The Department editors don't seem to be clear on what are Mabini's *Memorias.*

The law prescribes one textbook and the Department of Education prescribes another. Republic Act 1881 says clearly that the 24 units should include the teaching of Mabini's *Memorias de la Revolución Filipina;* it is obvious that what was meant by the law was something already published and existing. But what did the Department of Spanish and Culture do? It produced its own Mabini!

What George A. Malcolm[1] considered as one of the fourteen Philippine classics, Mabini's *La Revolución Filipina,* was practically set aside by the new editors, who, without basis in law, produced this publication now subject of this critique. Said Malcolm: "Probably the best historical account so far produced by a Filipino was that written by the Sublime Paralytic, Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolución Filipina.*" Malcolm made that statement in 1950.

Who is the serious student of Mabini who would not know of his *Memorias,* finished in its English version in Guam? Of Mabini's plan to come home to Manila in 1903, one well-known scholar wrote: "He had already written his memoirs entitled La Revolucion Filipina. He had given what he thought his best in the service of his country."[2]

What does the Department-edited Mabini contain? It has many of the state documents given by T. Kalaw in his *La Revolución Filipina Por Apolinario Mabini,* published in two volumes by the National Library in 1931, consisting of a total of 652 pages. The result of the Department effort was a quilt of Mabini writings, some with his own by-line, some signed by President Emilio Aguinaldo in the latter's administration of the Republic. Some were official messages, letters, decrees, memorandums, and articles written by Mabini for the government, but they were no parts of Mabini's memoirs. This revolutionary medley even made the mistake of including those pieces written originally in Tagalog and in English (see p. 50, 67 and 164) when Republic Act 1881 clearly asked that the materials should be in their "original Spanish versions."

Of the original Mabini *Memorias* of 65 printed pages and 11 short chapters, only the first, fifth, eight, ninth and tenth chapters were considered worthy of inclusion in the new textbook edited by the Department. And that is only 11 per cent of the total length of the new material, supposedly following Republic Act 1881 to honor Mabini through his *Memorias.*

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[1] *First Malayan Republic,* p. 430.

[2] Cesar A. Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution,* p. 460.

These Mabini memoirs were dedicated fondly to his mother. The editors assumed a serious responsibility when they pruned the following chapters:

II. La Dominación Española en Filipinas, antes de la Apertura del Canal de Suez
III. Causa y Efecto de la Ejecucion de los Padres Burgos, Gomez y Zamora
IV. La Administracion Española de Filipinas antes de la Revolucion
VI. Las Novelas de Rizal
VII. La Liga Filipina y el Katipunan
XI. Conclusion

Going back to the T. Kalaw opus of two volumes, there was no reason for anybody to make a mistake because of the way Kalaw gave a title to his compilation. Kalaw gave to his series the title *La Revolucion Filipina (Con Otros Documentos de la Epoca)*, *Por Apolinario Mabini.* I am sure T. Kalaw adopted the title given by Mabini to his famous *Memorias* for the entire National Library compilation, but Kalaw did not forget to set off, in parenthesis, "Con Otros Documentos de la Epoca." Our trouble here, from a historical perspective, is that only one-ninth of the Department textbook is really *Memorias* by Mabini and the eight-ninth was a gathering of "otros documentos de la epoca." Why should the Spanish law be thus tampered with?

The remedy, quite clearly, is to let the different colleges which are subject to Republic Act 1881 to publish their own editions of Mabini's Memoirs, supplemented by adequate text-notes, bibliographical notes, vocabularies, acknowledgments, etc.

III. Filipinas, su Glorioso Pasado

The order of the Department of Education on Spanish 6 states:

> "This course introduces varied types of Filipino writings in Spanish dating from the turn of the century to the present. The study involves the development of ideas on Nationalism. Textbook: *Filipinas, Su Glorioso Pasado.*"

There is nothing under the law, Republic Act 1881, that says that such a compilation as *Filipinas, Su Glorioso Pasado* automatically becomes a textbook from the fact that it was prepared by DEC.[3]

For subjects we are given: Francisco Baltazar, Jose A. Burgos, Mariano Gomez, Jacinto Zamora, Jose Rizal, Teodora Alonzo Marcelo H. del Pilar, Lopez Jaena, Jose Maria Panganiban, Juan Luna, Felix R. Hidalgo, Andres Bonifacio, Apolinario Mabini, Emilio Jacinto, Mariano Ponce, Emilio Aguinaldo, Manuel L. Quezon, Sergio Osmeña, Jose P. Laurel, Manuel A. Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Juan Sumulong, Cayetano S. Arellano, Victorino Mapa, Manuel Araullo, Gregorio Araneta, Ignacio Villamor, Claro M. Recto, Jose Abad Santos, Norberto Romualdez, Francisco Ortigas, Edilberto Evangelista, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Gen. Maximino Hizon, Julia Vargas Vda. de Ortigas, and Francis Burton Harrison. There are 37 in all! The textbook is veritably a biographical cyclopedia. Do we have enough time for a decent study of the content? What is Francisco Baltazar who was born in 1788 doing there, if "glorioso pasado" should date "from the turn of the century?" Even Alzona's article, "Legado de España," will have to be rewritten since it covered the earlier periods too.

Many will find it hard to accept that our "glorious past" must date from the turn of the century, even if we should include under that term the time of Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, 1872. Where is that past supposed to end, more or less? Time of Ramon Magsaysay? (P. 199-200) Time of Julia Vargas de Ortigas? (P. 262-267) Time of Manuel A. Roxas? (P. 187-193). We might make it a shallow past. For such an impressive title to the volume, the public has a right to expect a historical or biographical anthology more worthy of scholarly recognition.

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[3] Dr. Narciso Albarracin had an even more strict interpretation of the present laws on the adoption of textbooks. He is of the opinion that even *Discursos de Malolos y Poesias Filipinas en Español,* though covering subject matter cited in the law as required for Advanced Spanish, cannot become an official textbook without express action by the Board on Textbooks. It is Dr. Albarracin's view that although the course is mandatory, the textbook for it is quite another matter. (Narciso B. Albarracin, "The Private School Laws and Critique of Their Implementation," p. 258. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, 1965.)

We have unreasonably excluded non-Filipino authors of Spanish writings. We really went on a limb on that one. We gave ourselves no alternative but to make that "glorious past" begin when Filipinos started writing in the Spanish language. This practically means the time — at its earliest — when Burgos began to take the pen. If we had not imposed this racial ban in our review or study of Philippine literature in Spanish, we would have been able to present a more authentic "glorioso pasado" of our country than the present volume has been able to do.

It is a truism to say that the anthologist has a serious responsibility in his hands. Besides considering the literary merits of the pieces he selects, if they are biographies he must also consider the subjects of the write-ups. The anthologist can easily be thrown off balance. Unless he has before him certain agreed criteria for selection, reached in cooperation with other perceptive judges with similarly objective standards, the anthology can become a joke. The more limited the space or the time, the harder the process of elimination, but the more crucial it does become.

The easiest thing for an anthologist to do — but the most irresponsible — is to include all or nearly all of those who can make the least claim to prominence. And I think that that's the main defect of *Filipinos, Su Glorioso Pasado* as it is published by the Division de Español y Cultura.

If we think of every yesterday as "pasado," we shall have subjects to overflowing. But I think that that's the wrong thing to do. The 37 biographical subjects can reasonably be cut to ten without improverishing the historical base of our Spanish 6 textbook. The space that we shall save can very well be used to familiarize the students with the best samples of the classics in Philippine historiography. Then we can introduce our students to some of the following men who have so indispensably recorded our past for us: Chirino, Morga, Loarca, Plasencia, De la Concepcion, Povedano, Aduarte, Zuñiga, Delgado, Blumentritt, Retana, etc., etc. We cannot boycott the works of all these people and claim that we have a proud record of our "glorioso pasado" in the official textbook. I think that we must not yield to extreme Filipinization in an intellectual production of this kind. Our past history has been fundamentally related to Spaniards, and is this not partly why we have Republic Act 1881?

One of the main arguments for the enforcement of Republic Act 1881 upon the Philippine higher institutions is so that the Filipino youth might have greater familiarity or contact with the records of our past written originally in the Spanish language. That is a worthy motive and we should not lose sight of it.

Rather than employ the anthologies in these courses to bring out materials now easily available in the English language, why not make them give priority to those Philippine materials not available to the schools except in the Spanish language?

IV. Plan de estudio oficial de Español para el colegiado

Cover says: "For Spanish 5, 7 and 8, i.e., Spanish for Third Year, first semester; and Spanish for Fourth Year, first and second semesters.

I. Difference between two editions of the book.

An earlier 1960 edition of this book was prescribed for use with Spanish 6, 7 and 8. The placement was changed, then, from Spanish 6 to Spanish 5 for the first part of the book. The change was prompted by the decision to use *Filipinas, Su Glorioso Pasado* in Spanish 6 thus shoving down *Plan de Estudio Oficial* (hereinafter to be called PEO) to Spanish 5. PEO will continue to cover Spanish 7 and Spanish 8 as well.

This 1962 revision of the PEO, subject of this present review, is longer by 54 pages than the 1960 edition because the following content has been added:

> To the Spanish 7 part: An "Addenda" was added, consisting of six selections. In English their title would read thus:
>
> 1. Members of the Revolutionary Congress in Barasoain
> 2. Powers and Duties of Congress
> 3. Commencement Speech of Quezon, U.P., 1939
> 4. Speech of Quirino on Jose Abad Santos
> 5. Speech of Recto on Quezon
> 6. Speech of Recto on Manuel Bernabe
>
> To the Spanish 8 part: A poem was added, by Manuel Bernabe on Recto.

II. Have the four books published by the Division de Español y Cultura adequately covered the requirements in Department Order No. 25, 1962, on Advanced Spanish courses?

If we check with that directive from the Department of Education, it will be seen that the four courses, Spanish 5 through 8, should be the following, in correlative order:

Introductory rhetoric; later, biographies of Filipinos
Types of Filipino writings in Spanish
Mabini's Memoirs; important speeches at the Malolos Congress
Poetry by Filipinos in Spanish

Since the PEO is the last of the four official publications to be reviewed, we should now be able to answer the above question in the light of all the materials which have been examined. Clearly the answer is NO.

There is no text material for the students of introductory rhetoric. There is no text material on the presentation or exposition of the different types of Filipino writings in Spanish. What was published as *Filipinas, Su Glorioso Pasado* for Spanish 6 is of doubtful quality.

The text materials for Spanish 7, catalogued in a Department Order as Mabini's *Memoirs* and the speeches at Malolos, are found in three separate books. The natural result of this diffuseness is lack of concentration in one book-purchase by the students and teachers, duplication, and an unnecessary scattering of textual reference for the professor. One textbook for one course could have been a more practical rule.

In tabular form, the text materials issued by the Division de Español y Cultura together with the courses they must serve are presented below. The way PEO has skipped Spanish 6 is as obvious as it is hard to justify. "Plan de Estudios," or "Curso de Estudios," may be regarded as the equivalent of what we commonly call in English "courses of study" or "curriculum programs." Therefore, the PEO under review should be complete and should cover all the advanced Spanish courses.

Title of the book	Spanish 5 Rhetoric; Filipino biographies	Spanish 6 Types of Filipino writings	Spanish 7 Mabini's Memoirs; Speeches at Malolos	Spanish 8 Poetry
Plan de Estudio Oficial			p. 73-151	p. 153-183
Glorioso Pasado	1. 1-71	p. 1-314		
Mabini, Revolucion Filipina			p. 1-254	
Discursos, Poesias			p. 8-27	p. 27-228

III. *W*hat does the "Plan de Estudio Oficial" provide for each of the three Spanish courses (5, 7 and 8) in summary form?

A. For Spanish 5 there are nine lessons on Mabini. There are 14 lessons for these 14 men: Burgos, Mariano Gomez, Jacinto Zamora, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Felipe Calderon, Pedro Paterno, Adriatico, Mariano Ponce, Lopez Jaena, Bonifacio, Antonio Luna, Emilio Jacinto, Jaime C. de Veyra, and Fernando Ma. Guerrero.

There are also brief biographical sketches for twelve "heroes," but none for Antonio Luna and Emilio Jacinto who only have outlines. See p. 64-66 and 66-68 for these two.

If we go by the title appearing on page 1, we are made to understand that these are "heroes Filipinos." How many of them can we really consider as Filipino "heroes"? We do not want to make our standards too low.

B. For Spanish 7, which should be on Mabini's Memoirs and on the speeches in Malolos, there are 15 lessons. Again we see lack of fidelity to the approved curriculum content embodied in the Department Order of 1962. Of the 15, there are eight lessons on what may be called background material. Lesson No. 9 is on Mabini's True Decologue. The four speeches at Malolos are: one by Aguinaldo and three by Paterno. In a textbook for a course of study under a law that specifically mentions Mabini and the Philippine Revolution, Paterno seems to get more attention than Aguinaldo or Mabini whose evaluation, according to Dr. Majul, runs something like this: "Mabini firmly believed that men belonging to the group of Paterno were persons more interested in their personal conveniencies and the protection of their properties than the ideals of a struggle that was essentially a mass movement." (Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution,* p. 340.)

C. For Spanish 8, the six lessons are outlined after a 5.5-page treatment of the history of the Spanish literature, Spanish Golden Age, and what is called "El Romanticismo Español." The first lesson in the outline includes mention of the writings of Rizal, Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena, Ponce, Panganiban and De Lete. It will remain a perpetual puzzle to the reader how the editors in DEC selected the Filipino authors to be presented. Del Pilar was not a poet, neither Lopez Jaena, Ponce, nor Panganiban. In the case of Del Pilar, even his Tagalog articles are cited in the PEO. It is a big "Leccion Primera," indeed, because it covers from the literature of Spain in the sixteenth century to the entire Revolutionary era in the Philippines, through Paterno and Mabini once more, down to a long list of contemporary *cuentistas, filosofos, oradores, periodistas,* textbook authors, etc.

The second lesson is also a big one, reviewing the work of the *propagandistas* and the two periods of the Revolution.

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth lessons cover, respectively, Jose Lauchengco, Jesus Balmori, "Mi Ultimo Adios," and the Philippine National Anthem (Jose Palma).

IV. Specifically, what types of criticisms may be made of the content of the PEO?

1. The whole "Addenda" with the Spanish 7 section is unfortunate. It should be thrown out in toto.

Pages 123-124 of the "Addenda" are supposed to give the members of the Malolos Congress with surnames beginning with letters A to G. Where are those with other surnames? One can really feel sorry for the editors of the PEO.

And as if to cap the mistake with a bigger mistake, the PEO added the eight lines at the bottom of page 123 and all of page 124, presuming perhaps that these additional names will complete the full list. Please be informed that the additional names on page 123 and on page 124 were those given almost verbatim in Kalaw's *The Development of Philippine Politics*, page

416 as the signatories to the Proclamation of Independence on June 12, 1898, in Cavite Viejo. This slip could have been easily detected during the proofreading if the material received proper attention from the editors. It says on page 123, in English translation, "I commit these proceedings in writing" ("pongo estas actuaciones por escrito"), when there were no proceedings to speak of in a mere list of names. This could not have been mere oversight, for in the footnotes on p. 98 and 100, the readers' attention was invited to the aforesaid list of Congress members on p. 123-124.

Everybody knows what excessive prolixity can sometimes do to our honest efforts. It can increase the number of risks of mistakes where mistakes there should be none. To go on with the deplorable "Addenda":

Facing p. 126. Pictures of the three Presidents: Quezon, Roxas and Quirino. What is the connection of these three to Spanish?

P. 127-131. Speech of Quezon in 1939. What had this U.P. commencement speech to do with Spanish 7? It was originally delivered in English, not Spanish. It was never this way before — that pronouncements of high officials *ipso facto* became required-textbook material regardless of their lack of relevance to the subject-matter of the course.

P. 132-135. Radio speech of Quirino on Abad Santos in 1949 (with that awful picture of Abad Santos, facing p. 132). This radio speech in English in a volume of Quirino papers, and was, presumably, delivered in English.

P. 136-141. Speech of Recto on Quezon.

P. 142-151. Speech of Recto on Manuel Bernabe.

Again one may wish to ask: How do these three speeches fit into the scheme of Spanish 7 which, according to Department Order No. 25, is on Mabini's *Memoirs* of the Revolution and the speeches at the Malolos Congress? In my opinion, it cannot be over-emphasized that the power to produce prescribed textbooks must be exercised with restraint and reserve — necessary attributes of intellectual discipline.

2. With the exercise of more care, the following doubts would not have arisen.

Pages 82-84 are supposed to present the cause of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, Chapter II. According to the compilers, the causes were:

a. The taking away of parishes from the secular priests and the general spirit of rivalry between them and the regulars.
b. Denial of Cortes representation.
c. The tenancy question.

This is obviously an inadequate summary of the causes of the 1896 uprising. One has only to read the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo* to sense that some important things have been left out. The abuses of the Spanish officials and churchmen outside of the scope of the three reasons given above should be included.

It is announced on page 1 as well as page 3 that Spanish 5 will include the study of "Filipinos Ilustres" from the eighteenth century to the present. Actually, not a single Filipino subject was presented in the PEO Spanish 5 for the eighteenth century.

On page 41, note that in praising Calderon, the editors have made Mabini appear as the villain of the study. Why was Mabini's side not presented at this point? Even a small footnote would have helped.

Mention was made in Lesson 1 of "la nacion filipina antes de llegada de los españoles," p. 101. If we are to be precise, nationhood and the name Philippine were unknown before the coming of the Spaniards.

On pages 109-110 one comes across a distinction that intrigues. The term "insurrection" was used studiously for the events leading up to Biak-na-bato, while it is "revolution" for the later events. (Lesson 7, p. 109-110.)

3. The following few samples will show the inaccuracies surrounding certain historic events mentioned in the PEO.

Page 3, Proyecto I: "Republica de 1947." What's this? There was one in 1898 and another one in 1946, but this is the first time mention has been made of the Republic of 1947.

Page 5, First Lesson: "España donde fue vencido Napoleon." Was Spain really where Napoleon was defeated?

Page 43 says that Felipe G. Calderon was in Batangas when the Americans took Manila in 1898. Elsewhere we are told that Calderon was in Manila at that time. See *Glorioso Pasado,* p. 55.

Page 88 says that Rizal arrived in Manila on June 22, 1892. This does not agree with other accounts. Retana says the date should be June 26. See *Vida,* p. 255.

Page 91. The date August 17, 1895 as the date of the cry of Balintawak is intriguing. It is one year off the correct date.

Page 98 says that the Republic was inaugurated on September 15, while page 40 of the same volume says it was September 13.

On page 107 it says that *La Liga Filipina* was founded on July 3, 1893. We have always thought that it was founded in 1892 before Rizal was banished.

Page 119. In 1901, did Aguinaldo take his oath first on April 1 and was thrown into prison afterwards on May 23?

Page 162. Why is the heading in II this way: "Desde el Grito de Balintawak hasta el Descubrimiento del Katipunan"? Is reckoning backwards?

4. There seems to be unnecessary duplication of subject matter in the entire series. For example, Spanish 7 is mostly on Mabini's Memoirs which also describes his part in the Philippine Revolution, and this would also include his biography. Why does Spanish 5 have to call for *nine* lessons on Mabini? See p. 5-27 of PEO.

Here is another example. Felipe G. Calderon is treated in six pages of PEO (p. 37-43) and in 25 pages in *Glorioso Pasado* (p. 40-64).

The following are treated biographically in PEO, but they also have their biographies presented in *Glorioso Pasado*: Emilio Jacinto, Burgos, Zamora, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Ponce, Lopez Jaena, and Bonifacio. Some of the things said on Marcelo H. del Pilar on p. 36-37 of PEO are repeated on p. 161-162 of the same book. He should not have been cited in the poetry syllabus, Spanish 8 part, because, in the first place, Marcelo H. del Pilar was no poet. Citing his 5 Tagalog works in Spanish 8 is irrelevant.

One wonders how Cecilio Apostol, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and Jose Palma came to be listed in the Revolutionary period in Spanish 8 (p. 162-163) and also listed in the next period, the "Cultural-Patriotico," (p. 163-166). This diffuseness in classification subtracts from the value of such kind of grouping.

Fernando Ma. Guerrero is listed among the "Laborantistas" together with Del Pilar and Panganiban (p. 167). The first lived long after the last two.

Lopez Jaena is among the "Laborantistas" (p. 162), but again he appears in the "Cultural-Patriotico" period (p. 165).

5. There are signs tending to prove that some careless assistants in the Division de Español y Cultura have made the PEO appear like it lifted others' material without giving proper acknowledgement or credit to the source. This of course can lead to the serious charge of plagiarism.

The biography of Emilio Jacinto on p. 91 and of Antonio Luna on p. 93-95 should be enough examples to prove this statement.

On Emilio Jacinto, this may be submitted. Some paragraphs are so uncannily similar to those in an article by Rafael Palma in the *Philippines Free Press* on December 15, 1928:

In Plan de Estudio Oficial (p. 91):

> En Mayo de 1896 encabezo la comision de Katipunan compuesta de Bonifacio, Cipriano Pacheco, Pio Valenzuela y otros que entrego una memoria al Almirante japones, destinada al Emperador japones para que "la luz que brilla sobre el Japon vierta tambien sus rayos sobre Filipinas."
>
> En Julio de 1896, disfrazado de chino cargador se introdujo secretamente en el camarote del Dr. Rizal para convencerle de que debia hacer causa comun con los hijos de pueblo . . .

In the Palma article, 1928:

> En Mayo de 1896 encabezo la delegacion de Katipuneros, compuesta de Andres Bonifacio, Cipriano Pacheco, Pio Valenzuela, y otros mas, que ofrecieron sus respetos al almirante japones, entregandole un memorial para el emperador del Japon, con el fin de que "la luz que brillaba sobre el Japon pudiese derramar tambien sus rayos sobre Filipinas."

> En Julio de mismo año, disfrazado de cargador chino, se introdujo secretamente en el camarote de Dr. Rizal, para convencerle de que debiera abrazar la causa comun de los hijos de pueblo . . .

On Antonio Luna, page 94 of PEO, we find the same strange similarity between certain paragraphs here and in Manuel Artigas y Cuerva.

In Plan de Estudio Oficial:

> Al estallar la Revolucion Filipina en 1896, fue detenido junto con otros . . .
>
> Al romper las hostilidades entre americanos y españoles, Luna regreso a Cavite y Aguinaldo le ofrecio el cargo de Comandante General de las Fuerzas en Campaña. Luna, rechazo al principio la oferta. Despues de algunos dias, acepto el puesto de Secretario de Guerra en el Gabinete de Mabini con el rango de General en Jefe del Ejercito de Operaciones.

In Artigas y Cuerva:

> Al estallar en 1896 la revolucion filipina, Luna como otros muchos conciudadanos, fue detenido . . .
>
> "Al romperse las hostillidades entre los americanos y españoles, Luna regreso a Cavite y Aguinaldo le ofrecio el cargo de comandante general de las fuerzas en campaña, y Luna, si bien rechazo en principio la oferta, despues de algunos dias, acepto el puesto de Secretario de Guerra en el Gabinete de Malolos, con el rango de General en Jefe del Ejercito de operaciones." (Second paragraph is in quotation marks because Artigas y Cuerva only quoted from Marrion Wilcox.)

There are some more examples which could be cited if time and space permitted, but the above should be enough.

6. Grade school methodology is being misapplied to college teaching of Spanish. This is noticeable in the content of PEO.

Take this statement on page 6 of PEO: "Fijar en la mente del estudiante la idea de que no habiendo necesidad de recurrir a heroes extranjeros." Such a statement of purpose or procedure is hardly fit for advanced college students, although teachers of primary school children may find that reminder of some value. It is only in totalitarian countries perhaps where college teachers are reminded that they don't have to consider or think of foreign heroes.

Take the six lessons on Mabini on pages 5-27 and observe the methodology of lesson planning. If an excellently written biography of the subject has been presented, there is probably little or no need to spoon-feed every bit of it lesson by lesson as the present PEO does. There would be no need to tag various sections or paragraphs as "Ejemplos," "Temas," "Lecturas," etc., for the college instructor. Even in the primary teachers' courses of study this methodology of lesson planning, with labels for lesson objectives, lesson activities, and evaluation for every section of subject matter, is gradually being abandoned.

The execution of the three priests in 1872, p. 104. What is the real value, pedagogic or otherwise, of the exercise asking college students to try to justify the execution of the three priests?

Page 109. Here is another childish exercise, in equivalent English: "Was the organization of the Katipunan justified?" "Was the Philippine Revolution justified?"

Page 110. Again this question asked in the grade-school fashion: "Was the insurrection (meaning revolution) in Cavite justified?" In this lesson, as already mentioned above, the term used was "insurrection" up to Biak-na-bato. After Biak-na-bato it was 'revolution".

May we just look at the kind of picture given in the frontispiece of PEO, a picture which may not be good even for children. It may give them a distorted picture of actual facts. For the adults, it is an insult to intelligence. Burgos and Bonifacio may not even have seen each other. Mabini and Juan Luna did not have such camera camaraderie. Rizal was a boy of eleven when Burgos was garroted.

It seems that the method used by Professor Jaime C. de Veyra in a 1934 anthology entitled *Filipinas y Filipinos* can very well be considered as model in planning text materials for the advanced courses under Republic Act 1881. This book compiled and edited by De Veyra is a modest little volume, only 142 pages, and it is of the size that can easily fit into one's pocket or bag. For each of the 21 classic pieces, consisting of poems and prose selections, the compiler has provided notes on the meanings of common words and expressions, background information, brief biographical notes for the authors, and a vocabulary that can stand scrutiny. It can be said that if the selections or pieces in an anthology had been well selected and the editing and proofreading well done, the job is already half-accomplished. The eager student can read it and profit much from it.

7. The last part of PEO, that on Spanish 8, begins on page 153. The content for the six lessons begins on page 160. There will be no need to repeat here the criticism voiced above of college lessons written out in the grade-school style where the *objectives, subject matter, development or procedure,* and *evaluation* are detailed for each lesson.

The introduction to these six lessons in Spanish 8 deserves some close review. These 5.5 pages (p. 155-160) can be outlined this way:

Historia de la literatura
Renacimiento español (El Siglo de Oro)
  Siglo XVI
  Siglo XVII
  Siglo XVIII
  Siglo XIX
El romanticismo español
  Siglo XX

How can one expect any student to get something worthwhile and valuable out of such a broad scope and compass of subject matter? How much time is available to skim over five centuries?

Spanish 8, according to the Department Order, is Filipino poetry in Spanish. It is therefore hard to justify some of the lessons given on p. 160-172. Lopez Jaena, Ponce, Panganiban, and Lete in Lesson 1 are no poets. Jacinto wrote mostly in Tagalog, and even if he had written a poem in Spanish that didn't make him a "notable Filipino poet." Calderon and Mabini were no poets either. Why does Lesson 1 call attention to a long, undiscriminating list of *novelistas, dramaturgos, cuentistas, filosofos, biografos, oradores, polemistas, periodistas,* and *autores?* Lesson 2 is just as diffused as Lesson 1. Both lessons tried to classify writers into periods or groups, but the names were scattered, as noted above.

Lesson 3 is on Jose Lauchengco, Lesson 4 on Balmori, Lesson 5 on "Ultimo Adios," and Lesson 6 on the Philippine National Hymn.

One wonders at the attention to the Bolenius method of the 1920's for Lesson 3. One also wonders in Lesson 4 at the sudden reference to Romeo and Juliet which is poetry, but Shakespearian and English, and to Abelard and Heloise which is neither poetry nor Hispanic or Philippine.

8. Just a word on the Appendix, p. 175-176, to close this review of PEO. For a change it is written in all-English text. It is an adaptation from Bolenius's *The Teaching of Oral English,* so the title of PEO Appendix is now *"The Teaching of Oral Spanish,"* I think that that is the root of much of our trouble, trying to approach college Spanish literature lessons for the Filipinos in the same way that American education technicians have approached the teaching of oral English to American students. The experts in Spanish language teaching in the DEC should be able to device methodology that is more appropriate to our Filipino college students. If they can't, they will do better, it seems, if they refrain from issuing what is not applicable nor comprehensible.

V. Summing Up

1. These series of reviews did not attempt to go into the field of literary excellence in Spanish. That is outside of the field of competency of the reviewer. He had to dwell mostly on the historical or biographical base of the content of the four DEC publications. He was also able to note flaws in editing and printing.

2. Hardly anybody in the two biggest bureaus in the Department of Education in Manila, or even in the Department offices themselves outside of DEC (Division de Español y Cultura) would probably have cared to go into detail about the contents of these official texts for Advanced Spanish because the voice often heard there is that this law, Republic Act 1881, would soon be amended or repealled anyway. A spirit of temporary resignation or toleration has probably replaced the attitude of scrutiny and criticism on the part of most officials. But when one lately

from the Manila offices, outside of the DEC, joins college work in the field and notices the defects and discrepancies in these hard-to-secure, expensive materials, under a law that holds the record for curriculum unpopularity, one becomes seriously concerned. That is how this series of reviews was conceived. No one would expect the DEC personnel to be so detached that they can view their own compilations objectively and as something less than excellent. We furnish that catalyst in these reviews.

3. Is it not a most recommendable procedure that, in the only college textbook-production system in the Philippines covering the whole country on such vast scale as Republic Act 1881 imperiously stands for, there should be consultations with representative institutions before any text material is planned or designed? And may it not be better that these printed textbooks be supplied the colleges first for examination and trial before they are sent to the Board on Textbooks for final approval in accordance with the textbook law? This will insure the production of better textbooks; it will discourage the frequent revisions and reprintings with no more green lights than the judgment of a staff of language experts unassured by help from historians, men of letters, and educationists. The same can be said, perhaps, for the framing of Department Orders outlining the curriculum content of each individual course. Alternatively, the DEC may stop calling its publications "textos oficiales," leaving the different collegiate institutions free to plan their own textbook system in Advanced Spanish, subject only to the curriculum descriptions from the Department of Education.

V. Recapitulation or Summary

Let me just note down again for clarity the four text materials which have been reviewed:

1. Plan de Estudio Oficial En Español Para el Colegiado
2. Filipinas: Su Glorioso Pasado
3. Memorias de la Revolucion Filipina de Apolinario Mabini
4. Discursos de Malolos y Poesias Filipinas En Español.

These four are expected to provide the subject-matter content of Advanced Spanish as envisioned by R. A. 1881 for the third year and fourth year of college and as further spelled out by Order No. 25, s. 1962, of the Department of Education — except for the small part of the first semester of the third year, which the Order wants devoted to rhetoric. In other words, the the work of approximately seven-eights of Advanced Spanish is based on the four published materials. These four publications represented the difference between the old R.A. 709 on 12 units and the later R.A. 1881 on 24 units. They are the *raison d'etre* as it were of the 1957 amendment increasing the Spanish language load. A critical study of these four books is therefore of the greatest significance if we are to assess the effects of R.A. 1881 on college education in the country.

Recapitulation

1. I shall begin by saying that the first-named book, *Plan de Estudio Oficial en Español Para el Colegiado,* is definitely not a credit to the Spanish language program. It is defective both as to content and as to make-up. Either from ignorance of proper practice or from carelessness, its editors allowed it to be tainted with that literary disease: appropriating from the writings of others without credit or quotes, in this case from Artigas y Cuerva and from Rafael Palma. It has the only kind of freak printing so far seen in any government-published material (e.g., p. 123). It gives a good sampling of historically erroneous statements.[4] It advocates a pedagogical approach carried over from the grade schools. It has pieces, selections, and photographs that are irrelevant to the scope and purpose of the courses covered. Its presentation of biographical subjects — all called "Filipino heroes" — seems to have observed no criteria in their selection.

While page space is not necessarily an index to the importance of the subject, at least in biographical texts which are to be read and studied by the students of Spanish with considerable bookishness, there must be some recognition of the fact that more will be known about these subjects which are extensively written about in the text.

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[4] Since the writing of the fourth review, there has come to my notice what seems to be another error. Three historical sources availablee to me say that Burgos was 35 when he was executed, not 30 as is stated on p. 28 of *Plan de Estudio.* He was born in 1837, not 1842.

How can we justify such a wide range of textual lengths as from 2 1/2 inches for Jacinto Zamora to 52 inches for Felipe G. Calderon? The latter is given more space in the book than Marcelo H. del Pilar. Macario Adriatico is given more attention than Andres Bonifacio. Paterno is more extensively treated than Burgos or Ponce or Gomez. What are the criteria followed?

2. *Filipinas: Su Glorioso Pasado* has a big name — signifying our "glorious past." But it covers from Magsaysay's time at this recent and to Francisco Baltazar's at the other. How recent may our "glorious past" be? There are biographical sketches for 37 people, plus a collection of seven articles, plus two poems besides. In a semester of 50 class hours, this means rapid-fire teaching methodology. Is this wise?

It was officially announced in the aforesaid Order No. 25, s. 1962, of the Department of Education that the period covered should be from the turn of the country to the *present*. Is that why at this later end there is treatment of Julia de Ortigas and Manuel A. Roxas? We have given the broadest possible meaning to "pasado" and, apparently, to "glorioso", too.

We have broadened the meaning of "pasado" to include the "present," and we have also narrowed the meaning of "glorioso" to exclude all mention of the works of non-Filipino historians. Is it right and proper to ignore or be silent about the classics of Philippine historiography written by Spaniards? How will our students today know about our "glorioso pasado" if writers in Spanish like Morga, Chirino, Loarca, Plasencia, Concepcion, Aduarte and many others are not introduced to the students? Filipinization, if it means what often it is made to mean, seems anachronistic in a program installed to further the teaching of the ex-colonizers' language through a textbook in particular which emphasizes the past. It is precisely to catch a view of the rich storehouses of original historical materials in Spanish that the increase to 24 units makes the most sense. I do not know how we can justify the big name "Glorioso Pasado" for this 314-page textbook, except possibly for the short survey article of Alzona of 25 pages.

3. Mabini's Memoirs on the Philippine Revolution. This is required by R.A. 1881. It must be taught in its original Spanish version, says Section. 1. And Mabini wrote his Memoirs in

Spanish, although he also produced its English version when he was in Guam. But for reasons known only to themselves, the editors of the Department's Division de Español y Cultura paid no serious attention to this and issued instead a 254-page book and gave it the title *Memorias de la Revolucion Filipina de Apolinario Mabini.* What the law has specified for teaching is only one-fourth of the total length of what students are now being forced to buy as "texto oficial." In one university the head of the Spanish Department said that their best classes cannot finish one-third of the ersatz Mabini.

What does this 254-page textbook contain? Yes, it contains one-half of the genuine Mabini Memoirs, approximately 30 pages, but the rest of the pages of the ersatz textbook were filled with letters and state papers most of them signed by Mabini, some signed by Emilio Aguinaldo, some not signed by anyone at all. One was signed by three: Mabini, Sandico and Gonzaga; one by Felipe Buencamino; one by General Bell; one by General Wheeler; and the fact that two of them were Mabini letters to Aguinaldo in Tagalog and the one by Wheeler was in English did not keep them out of an ersatz textbook supposed to be exclusively of materials in "their original Spanish versions." One interesting question to ask is why the students were not given the chance to hear Mabini through his own Memoirs on such topics as: the Spanish domination in the Philippines up to Suez Canal; Spanish administration before the Revolution; causes and effects of the execution of Burgos, Gomez and Zamora; Rizal's novels; La Liga Filipina; and the Katipunan? These are actual chapters in his Memoirs. What could the editors in the Department's Division de Español y Cultura have been afraid of? And yet, in the opinion of George A. Malcolm, the Memoirs is one of the most valued Philippine classics.

4. The fourth textbook, *Discursos de Malolos y Poesias Filipinas en Español,* has the first 27 pages for use in Spanish 7, and the rest of the book, of 200 pages, for use in Spanish 8. This combining of text materials for two different courses in one book while also asking two textbooks to serve one course can only indicate lack of sufficient planning, especially if it is remembered that both the course content for each semester and the textbook to be used emanate from one single office of the Government.

"Discursos de Malolos" for Spanish 7, — where are they? Yes, where are they?

There are only three pieces of "discursos" by Paterno and *one* by Aguinaldo. Who is Paterno? He was President of the Malolos Congress all right, but he is not really remembered for that by most knowledgeable historians.[5] No wonder Mabini had such a low regard for his "comedia" of Biak-na-Bato. Foreman has told us of Paterno's asking for a "gift" of one million dollars for that service in addition to the grant of a title of Duke or Prince, first class. But of speeches that would delineate or emphasize the issues and the conflicts that faced the fledgling Republic in 1898, there are none in this textbook.

Aguinaldo has an inaugural piece in this Spanish 7 textbook, but this would hardly qualify under the terms of R.A. 1881 — in "their original Spanish versions." Aguinaldo read it in Tagalog first, then the Spanish translation next.

If these four Malolos-delivered pieces are all that the editors in the Department can produce, then there is no point in having the "discursos de Malolos" as a specific job for R.A. 1881. It would be sheer waste of valuable time, especially as one of the Paterno pieces has been titled deceptively.[6]

"Poesias Filipinas en Español," for Spanish 8, should raise some questions in our mind. R.A. 1881 asks for a compilation of the "great poems" of nine outstanding men in particular, and the names of the nine are given in the law. Not satisfied with the nine, the editors in the Department of Education trebled the number of "notable Filipino poets" to 27. One result was that even an anonymous poet is included. Two of the poets were born Spaniards and one has been a resident of Spain for 45 years. Has the law been faithfully complied with that way?

The 47 poems of these nine "notables" specified in the law are probably more than enough in a careful study of poetry for one semester considering that there are also biographical sketches and other background materials to take care of. We sometimes sacrifice quality for the sake of quantity or volume.

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[5] According to Charles Burke Elliott, Ph.D., Ll.D., in his *The Philippines to the End of the Military Regime*, (p. 199) here is a "distinguished citizen of Manila and Madrid, . . . swave, resourceful, diplomatic, friend of the people, intimate of Grandees, ready at a moment's notice to furnish a treaty, a drama, an opera, a form of government or system of philosophy, and, like Godoy, ambitious to win the title of Prince of Peace."

[6] The last speech was not a "proclamation," but a mere "ratification."

Summary

In summing up, I want to restate a fundamental point in R.A. 1881: That the three things to be included in the college curriculum are: (1) Mabini's personal Memoirs on the Revolution, (2) the outstanding speeches at the Malolos Congress in 1898, and (3) a compilation of great poems by notable Filipinos. All these three should be in their original Spanish, according to the law.

I have shown that (1) is impossible to accomplish with the present textbook produced and issued by the Government. In the case of (2), the important "discursos" seem to be unavailable to the Department researchers. And as to (3), I can only say that poetry may be learned more appreciatively by our college seniors if only the nine "notable" poets mentioned in the law are studied instead of 27.

Whatever else are in Advanced Spanish outside of the above three specific items are presumed to be outside of the legal prescription and are discretionary with the Department. I would recommend that the Department drop those ill-designed biographical sketches in *Plan de Estudio* and in *Glorioso Pasado* using the time saved in the better teaching of language skills in oral and written communication and in exploring through selected readings the most important sources of Philippine historiography.

The poetry anthology can then assume a more modest posture (not the present 200 pages of the "texto oficial"); the Malolos speeches will be those dealing with topics or issues of more crucial importance, not the bread-and-butter or platitudinous type; and the Memoirs by Mabini, only 60 printed pages, can be used complete and entire, not expurgated, and still be able to effect a saving of time from the 254-page ersatz textbook illegitimately born under department orders.

More Documents on the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines, IV

Compiled by Mauro Garcia

Indictment against Lt. General Masaharu Homma

HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER ALLIED POWERS

Before the
MILITARY COMMISSION
convened by the
COMMANDING GENERAL
United States Army Forces,
Western Pacific,
| | November 1945

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
vs.
MASAHARU HOMMA

CHARGE

That Masaharu HOMMA between 8 December 1941 and 15 August 1942 then Lieutenant General of the Japanese Imperial Army and commander-in-chief in the Philippines of the armed forces of Japan at war with the United States of America and its allies did unlawfully disregard and fail to discharge his duties as such commander to control the operations of the members of his command, permitting them to commit brutal atrocities and other high crimes against the people of the United States of America, its allies and dependencies, particularly the Philippines; and he, Masaharu HOMMA, thereby violated the Laws of War.

HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER ALLIED POWERS

Before the
MILITARY COMMISSION
convened by the
COMMANDING GENERAL
United States Army Forces,
Western Pacific
| | November 1945

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
vs.
Masaharu HOMMA

ADDITIONAL CHARGE

That Masaharu HOMMA, then Lieutenant General of the Japanese Imperial Army and Commander-in-Chief in the Philippines of the Armed Forces of Japan at war with the United States of American and its Allies did on 6 May 1942 unlawfully refuse to grant quarter to the Armed Forces of the United States of America and its Allies in Manila Bay, Philippines, and did thereby violated the laws of war.

SPECIFICATIONS

From about 7 December 1941 until about 15 August 1942 at Manila and other places in the Philippines, members of the Armed Forces of Japan under the command of the Accused committed the following atrocities:

1. The willful and wanton bombing of the City of Manila on 27 and 28 December 1941 by units of the Japanese Air Force, after proclamations had been issued on 26 December 1941 by General Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, President Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth, and Francis B. Sayre, American High Commissioner, declaring Manila an open and undefended city, and after the Japanese had been informed of said proclamations, as a result of which a number of public and private buildings, churches, schools and hospitals were destroyed or damaged, and numerous persons were wounded or killed.

2. About 7 April 1942, units of the Imperial Japanese Air Forces unlawfully bombed General Hospital No. 1, "Little Baguio", Bataan, Philippines, resulting in the death and wounding of sixty-nine Americans and fifty-two Filipinos, as well as the destruction of portions of said hospital.

3. From about 12 April 1942 until about 9 May 1942 at General Hospital No. 2, Bataan, Philippines, Japanese artillery units willfully and deliberately refused to permit the evacuation of American patients and medical personnel, after said units had been placed around the hospital and fired upon American installations on Corregidor, drawing a return fire from the American artillery, thereby exposing them to said shell fire, as a result of which numerous American patients and medical personnel were wounded or killed.

4. The widespread raping and brutal mistreatment of American and Filipino women throughout the Philippines.

5. On or about 10 May 1942, at General Hospital No. 2, Bataan, Philippines, members of the Japanese Army, without cause or trial brutally and deliberately bayonetted and murdered numerous American and Filipino prisoners of war.

6. On or about 9 May 1942, at General Hospital No. 2, Bataan, Philippines, without cause or trial four unidentified soldiers, then prisoners of war, who entered into a restricted area, were brutally tortured and mistreated, being severely beaten about the head and shoulders until they fell down. Two of such soldiers were knocked unconscious and had to be carried away.

7. From about 9 April 1942 to about 19 June 1942, members of the Japanese Imperial Forces, deliberately and willfully failed and refused to provide food, medicine, clothing, and other necessities to patients in General Hospitals No. 1 and No. 2, Bataan, Philippines, resulting in mistreatment, starvation, and malnutrition of a great number of said patients.

8. About 13 April 1942 at Cabcaban Air Field, an unidentified Japanese officer of the Japanese Imperial Forces, brutally and inhumanly, without any provocation beheaded an entire unidentified Filipino family of eight, including one child.

9. On or about 6 April 1942 at Bataan, Philippines, without cause or trial, the torturing of Cpl. Gotlieb G. Neigum and another American soldier, both prisoners of war, who were beaten and hung suspended by their wrists from a tree for one and one-half days.

10. On or about 10 April 1942 at Bataan, Philippines, members of the Japanese 16th Division of the Japanese Imperial Forces, without cause or trial brutally tortured approximately twenty-five Filipino prisoners of war by using them for bayonet practice, resulting in the death of all of said Filipinos.

11. About 8 and 9 April 1942 members of the Japanese Air Forces strafed American and Filipino forces at Mariveles Air Field, after the surrender of Bataan had taken place, in spite of the fact that these troops were displaying a large white flag of truce at the time of said strafing.

12. On or about 12 April 1942 at Mariveles, Bataan, without cause or trial, brutally torturing Lt. Joseph F. Boyland, a prisoner of war, for refusing to give the Japanese any information. Said torturing consisted of sticking the point of a knife into various parts of his body, beating,

and refusing to give to said officer food and water, for a period of about three or four days.

13. From about 9 April 1942 to about 27 April 1942 there was conducted the infamous "Death March of Bataan" which was a series of "Death Marches" in which approximately 10,500 American and approximately 74,800 Filipino prisoners of war were forced to march distances ranging from 60 to 120 kilometers from Bataan to San Fernando although transportation was available and was to have been used under the terms of the surrender agreement, during which time the following atrocities were committed:

a. Brutally mistreating, assassinating and killing by bayonetting and shooting, without cause or trial, Pvt. John Doran, Sgt. Joe R. Vaughn, Colonel McConnel, Commanding Officer Depot QM, Philippine Dept., Pvt. John Osowski, Pvt. Robert Baldwin, Pvt. Harry La Chance, Captain David Miller, 2nd Lt. Glen Shaffner, and numerous other American and Filipino officers and enlisted men and unarmed civilians, many of whom because of illness, disease and exhaustion were unable to continue the march and were bayonetted and shot while being helpless and defenseless.

b. Tying together and massacring by beheading, bayonetting and shooting on or about 12 April 1942 near Pantingan River, Bataan, a group of approximately 400 officers and non-commissioned officers of the Philippine Army, then prisoners of war.

c. Brutally mistreating, assassinating and killing, by beating with clubs, rifle butts, bamboo sticks and other blunt instruments without cause or trial one Colonel Utenberg, Captain Spigler, M/Sgt. Lee and numerous other American and Filipino officers and enlisted men.

d. Brutally and inhumanly burying alive numerous American and Filipino officers and enlisted men.

e. Brutally mistreating and torturing by requiring numerous American and Filipino prisoners to be exposed to the hot rays of the sun without any protection for unreasonably long periods of time.

f. Willful and deliberate failure and refusal to furnished even a minimum of food, water, shelter, and medical attention; prisoners were beaten, bayonetted and shot when they stopped to secure food and water by the roadside; prisoners were deprived of their shoes and forced to march barefoot even after their feet were cut and bleeding.

g. Exposing said prisoners of war to artillery fire from Corregidor by halting them near Japanese artillery positions, resulting in the killing of numerous American and Filipino soldiers.

h. Willfully and systematically stole, robbed and looted from the persons of said prisoners of war their personal belongings such as money, jewelry, blankets, toilet articles, cigarettes, cameras, and other personal objects; in at least one instance a Japanese guard using a rifle butt brutally knocked the teeth out of an American soldier's mouth in order to obtain gold fillings and inlays from said teeth.

i. Brutally and inhumanly confining said prisoners of war in various camps and compounds along the line of march; at Lubao several thousand men at point of Japanese bayonet were herded into a sheet metal covered warehouse, the building being so crowded that no one could lie down, except those that passed out and slumped to the floor, who in many cases were trampled by those remaining in a standing position.

j. By transporting said prisoners of war from San Fernando to Capas under the most cruel and inhuman conditions; men were piled into box cars in such crowded conditions that none could sit down and with hardly room enough to stand; cars were sealed up, and men were kept there from early morning until late afternoon; there being no toilet facilities the men were forced to urinate and defecate in their clothes; there being no ventilation, a lack of food and water, and many men sick with dysentery, malaria and other diseases resulting in the loss of consciousness to numerous individuals.

k. That as a result of said "Death March" and the foregoing atrocities approximately 1,200 American and approximately 16,000 Filipino prisoners of war were missing and dead.

14. During the period from about 9 April 1942 to 1 August 1942 at Camp O'Donnell, Capas, Tarlac, Philippines, the systematic cruel, barbarous and uncivilized treatment of American and Filipino prisoners of war, by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish or to permit the construction of sanitary latrines or any other necessary sanitation; by failing and refusing to furnish food consisting of more than a starvation diet, necessary medicine for the sick and wounded, adequate and safe drinking water; by failing and refusing to permit the Red Cross or other social agencies to perform their authorized functions and in some cases taking the food and supplies for their own use; by willfully and deliberately forcing American and Filipino prisoners of war to perform labor while sick with disease and physically unfit; by generally mistreating, torturing, and executing numerous American and Filipino prisoners of war for minor infractions. By reason of the above atrocities

during said period the deaths of approximately 1,522 American and 29,000 Filipinos are recorded.

15. During the months of May, June and July 1942 at Camps 1, 2 and 3, Cabanatuan, Luzon, Philippines, the systematic cruel, barbarous and uncivilized treatment of American prisoners of war by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish proper toilet facilities and other sanitation; by failing and refusing to furnish proper shelter and hospital facilities, by failing and refusing to furnish sufficient food, antitoxin for diphtheria epidemic and other medicines, adequate and uncontaminated drinking water; by willfully and deliberately forcing American prisoners of war to clean Japanese latrines with their bare hands and to place the excreta into 55 gal. drums which they had to carry about one mile to a farm where they were required to spread it by hand over the garden; by generally mistreating, torturing and executing numerous American and Filipino prisoners of war for minor infractions. By reason of the above atrocities, during the period 1 June 1942 and to 15 August 1942 the deaths of approximately 1,463 American prisoners are recorded.

16. During the period between January 1942 and 15 August 1942 at Bilibid Prison, Manila, Philippines, the systematic cruel, barbarous and uncivilized treatment of American prisoners of war by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish proper shelter and sanitary facilities; by failure to provide sufficient food; by deliberate withholding of medical supplies from the sick; by generally mistreating, beating, torturing said prisoners; and killing, without cause or trial one Sgt. Hight and many other American prisoners of war.

17. Between about 20 May 1942 and 15 August 1942 at Bacolod Prisoner of War and Civilian Internment Camp, Negros Island, the cruel and unlawful treatment of American and other nationals by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to provide proper shelter, sanitary facilities, medical supplies and attention; by failure to provide sufficient food; by slapping and otherwise subjecting civilian women to indignities; by forcing prisoners of war to drive trucks in hauling Japanese soldiers and munitions for operations against guerrilla forces.

18. From about 28 December 1941 to April 1942 at Camp John Hay, Civilian Internment Camp, Baguio, Luzon, the inhuman and uncivilized treatment of American, Filipino, and Chinese nationals by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish proper housing and sanitary facilities; by failure to provide sufficient food; by failing to

provide medicine and medical attention; by cruelly beating, torturing and subjecting to gross indignities many of said interness.

19. About 16 May 1942, at Provincial Prison, Iloilo Province, Panay, Philippines, without cause or trial the brutal, barbarous, and sadistic torturing of Dr. Gilbert Isbam Cullen, an unarmed American citizen, and the deliberate and systematic starvation of said doctor for a period of 8 months thereafter, resulting in permanent maiming and physical disabilities.

20. About 17 April 1942, at Chinese Cemetery, Santa Cruz, Manila, Philippines, without cause or trial the brutal and barbarous execution of Dr. Clarence Kwangson Young, Chinese Consul General of the Philippines, Kai Yien Mok, Saio Piu Chu, Yu Heng Loo, Isu Siu Yao, Tom Ming Siao, Ching Siu Young and James Kung Wei Wong, members of the Chinese Consulate.

21. During the period from about January 1942 to about July 1942 at Santo Tomas Civilian Internment Camp, Manila, Philippines, the inhuman and uncivilized treatment of American, Filipino, Chinese and other nationals interned by the Japanese Imperial Forces by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish proper housing facilities, by failure to provide proper sanitary facilities, by failing to provide medicine and necessary medical attention; by failing to provide any food, and by beating and torturing some of said internees for the purpose of eliciting information; by brutally beating, torturing and finally executing Thomas Henry Fletcher, Henry Edward Weeks, and a Mr. Laycock, British Nationals.

22. About 4 July 1942 a large number of American and Filipino prisoners of war, while in a weakened condition were forced to march from Dansalan to Iligan, during which march said prisoners were not given food nor were permitted to drink water except carabao wallows, were beaten and bayonetted resulting in the death of a number of said prisoners; during said march a Major Navins, an American officer with the 61st Philippine Army was brutally shot and killed after he had collapsed from sun stroke.

23. From May until 15 August 1942 at Camp Keithley, Dansalan, Lanao, Mindanao, Philippines, the systematic cruel, barbarous and uncivilized treatment of prisoners of war, by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish adequate food and safe drinking water, and medicine for the sick and wounded. About 3 July 1942 at said camp,

the brutal bayonetting and executing of Colonel Robert Veasey, Captain J. Price and one Sgt. Chandler, American prisoners of war, as reprisal for the escape of 4 other prisoners.

24. From May until 15 August 1942 at Malaybalay, Mindanao, the systematic cruel, barbarous and uncivilized treatment of prisoners of war, by willfully and deliberately failing and refusing to furnish adequate shelter and necessary sanitary facilities; by failing and refusing to furnish adequate food and safe drinking water and medicine for the sick and wounded. In August 1942 at said camp, without cause or trial, the brutal and barbarous execution of one Sgt. Siascio and another Filipino soldier, both prisoners of war.

25. From about March 1942 until 15 August 1942 the unlawful and illegal use of American and Filipino prisoners of war at Nichols Field, Philippines, as details to clean and clear the air field, to build runaways and revetments and to perform any other labor on said field to make it usable for fighters, bombers and reconnaissance planes; during said period of time the willful and deliberate failure to supply adequate food, clothing, and misappropriation of Red Cross Supplies at Pasay Elementary School, Pasay, Philippines; forcing said prisoners to march a distance of 5 to 6 miles from said school to Nichols Field and then back after laboring approximately 11 hours and after many of said prisoners had been beaten and tortured and were in a sickened, diseased and exhausted condition.

26. About May 1942 at Pasay Elementary School, Pasay, Rizal, Philippines, the brutal killing of two American prisoners of war, D. L. Hardy and William D. Short and 3 unidentified Filipino prisoners; about July 1942 at Nichols Field, Philippines, the brutal beating to death of an unidentified American prisoner, unable to keep up with work because of malnutrition and malaria; about 10 August 1942 at Pasay Elementary School the brutal beating of approximately 80 unidentified sick American prisoners.

27. About 6 and 7 May 1942 the willful, deliberate, and unlawful aerial bombing and artillery shelling of Corregidor after a white flag had been raised at the top of Manila Hill by the American forces, by reason of which numerous Americans were wounded and killed.

28. From about 8 May 1942 to about 24 May 1942 at Corregidor the herding of 10,000 American and Filipino soldiers and civilians in a compound known as 92nd Garage area, with no shelter provided, with no food, with no medical attention or medical supplies, with no sanitary

facilities, with individuals suffering from malaria, dysentery, and other diseases mixed indiscriminately in said group; the brutal mistreatment by beating, torturing and shooting any individuals who attempted to leave compound.

29. During May and June 1942 the willful and deliberate loading of the prisoners captured on Corregidor on barges for transport to the city of Manila, thousands of whom were suffering from malaria, dysentery and other diseases and were so weak they could hardly walk, with no sanitary facilities, without food and water and with no place to sit down; then unnecessarily forcing them into the water near a beach several miles down the bay instead of unloading them at the pier of Manila.

30. About 26 May 1942 at Manila, Philippines, Japanese Cavalry units compelled the prisoners captured on Corregidor to participate in the so called "Dewey Boulevard Victory March," which was a march of 5 to 6 hours to Bilibid Prison in Manila, whereby the prisoners were paraded along Dewey Boulevard to be exhibited as objects of humiliation and degradation in the eyes of thousands of Filipinos and Japanese. During said march no food, or water, was provided, many persons weak and exhausted from lack of food, sickness and exposure to the hot sun fell out of line and were brutally beaten by Japanese guards.

31. During the latter part of May 1942 the transportation of said prisoners captured at Corregidor from Bilibid Prison to Cabanatuan Prison in an inhuman and uncivilized manner, by crowding groups of 100 persons into small cars, many of them suffering from malaria, dysentery and other diseases, and keeping them locked in said cars for a period of 6 to 8 hours, as a result of which many persons fainted and were in a complete state of exhaustion.

32. During May and June 1942 at Lumban, Laguna, Philippines, keeping American prisoners of war at Lumban Camp under the most unsanitary conditions, willfully failing to supply adequate food, medical care, and medicines and working many of said prisoners while they were sick with dysentery, cerebral malaria and other diseases; the brutal execution about 12 June 1942 of Sgt. Bernard C. Knopick, Sgt. Isaac Landy, Sgt. James Lewis Turner, Cpl. Stanton R. Betts, Cpl. David A. Reas, Cpl. John B. Wiezorek, Pfc. Percival H. Hollyman, Pfc. Wade H. Rodgers and Pvt. John Dudash, all American prisoners of war as reprisal for the escape of an American prisoner.

33. From about 26 May 1942 to about 28 July 1942 at Tayabas, Luzon, Philippines, the brutal and cruel treatment of a road detail of 300

prisoners of war by overworking them, failing to give them adequate food, failing to furnish sanitary facilities, and failing to provide adequate medical care, as a result of which approximately 200 men on this detail died.

34. From about 7 May to 20 May 1942 near Wawa, Batangas, Philippines, the willful and deliberate mistreatment of approximately 250 American prisoners of war, officers and enlisted men, captured at Fort Drum and Fort Frank; by looting, robbing, and stripping them of all their possessions and most of their clothing; by forcing them for a period of several days without rest to perform burdensome labor in repairing a damaged pier, during which time said prisoners of war were denied sufficient food and water and were beaten when forced by exhaustion to slow down in performance of said work; by failing to provide adequate shelter, sanitary facilities and medical attention; by marching and parading said prisoners of war with practically no clothing through Nasugbu, thereby exposing them to public ridicule, humiliation and degradation; as a result of the above mistreatment numerous prisoners of war suffered sickness and disease from which they later died.

35. About 4 August 1942 at Calumpit, Pampanga, Philippines, the brutal execution of 5 prisoners from the Calumpit Bridge detail as reprisal for the escape of Cpl. Gotlieb Neigum, another prisoner of war.

36. During May, June and July 1942 the brutal and cruel treatment of a work detail of 300 prisoners of war sent to Batangas, Philippines, by overworking them, failing to provide adequate and proper medical care, beating, bayonetting and shooting said prisoners as a result of which only 20 survived, and 10 of these survivors died a few weeks thereafter.

37. From about 10 May 1942 to about 29 June 1942, forcing approximately 200 prisoners of war from Camp O'Donnel to work on the Gapan Bridge, Luzon, while ill and unable to so labor, on a starvation diet and under such unsanitary conditions that 37 of said prisoners died from malnutrition, malaria and dysentery.

38. Between 25 April 1942 and 15 August 1942, on various work details on Bataan Peninsula, Philippines, forcing prisoners of war to perform work relating to war operations by the Japanese forces; systematically beating and mistreating prisoners of war and forcing them to work while ill, with the result that only 120 of approximately 500 men assigned to these details survived.

39. On or about 9 January 1942, at Lubao, Pampanga, Philippines, torturing a group of Filipino prisoners of war by kicking, sticking in the face with bamboo poles, refusing to allow them to drink water placed before them; without cause or trial, brutally killing one prisoner by splitting his skull with a ballpin hammer and shooting and killing two other prisoners.

40. On or about 16 February 1942, at Palo, Leyte, Philippines, savagely torturing two Filipino male civilians by hanging them by their hands, beating their nude bodies with thorn branches, and lighting gasoline which had been poured under their arms and on their genitals.

41. About middle of June 1942 at Tacloban, Leyte, Philippines, the brutal, barbaric and inhuman execution of 4 prisoners of war, Lt. James Bullock, an American, and Cirilo Belicario, Norberto Mendiola, and one Cinco, Filipino soldiers, said execution having been imposed as a punishment for attempting to escape.

42. About 9 May 1942 at or near 646 Wacas Street, San Dionisio, Parañaque, Rizal, Philippines, without cause or trial, the burial and barbarous bayonetting and killing of 5 unidentified American prisoners of war.

/s/ Alva C. Carpenter
Dated 4 November 1945 /t/ ALVA C. CARPENTER
Colonel, JAGD
United States Army

AFFIDAVIT

Before me personally appeared the above-named accuser this 4th day of November, 1945, and made oath that he is a person subject to military law and that he personally signed the foregoing charge and specifications and further that he has investigated the matters set forth in the charge and specifications and that the same are true in fact, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

/s/ John L. McCroban
Captain JAGD

ADDITIONAL SPECIFICATION

That on 6 May 1942 despite the offer of surrender of General Wainright, the Commanding General of the United States Army Forces on the four (4) fortified Islands in Manila Bay, namely, Corregidor Island, Caballo Island, Carabao Island, and El Fraile Island and despite the fact that said Forces had laid down their arms and surrendered at discretion, the aforesaid Masaharu HOMMA refused to accept such surrender and the Japanese Forces thereafter fired upon said United States Army Forces as a result of which members of the United States Forces on said four (4) fortified Islands were killed and wounded.
Dated 3 December 1945

/s/ Alva C. Carpenter
/t/ ALVA C. CARPENTER
Colonel, JAGD
United States Army

AFFIDAVIT

Before me personally appeared the above-mentioned accuser this 3rd day of December, 1945, and made oath that he is a person subject to military law and that he personally signed the foregoing additional charge and additional specification and further that he has investigated the matters set forth in the additional charge and additional specification and that the same are true in fact, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

/s/ Henry P. Andrae
/t/ Captain, JAGD, AUS

Indictment against General Tomoyuki Yamashita

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC

Before the
MILITARY COMMISSION
convened by the
COMMANDING GENERAL,
United States Army Forces,
Western Pacific,
1 October 1945.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
vs.
TOMOYUKI YAMASHITA

CHARGE

Tomoyuki YAMASHITA, General Imperial Japanese Army, between 9 October 1944 and 2 September 1945, at Manila and at other places in the Philippine Islands, while commander of armed forces of Japan at war with the United States of America and its allies, unlawfully disregarded and failed to discharge his duty as commander to control the operations of the members of his command, permitting them to commit brutal atrocities and other high crimes against people of the United States and of its allies and dependencies, particularly the Philippines; and he, General Tomoyuki YAMASHITA, thereby violated the laws of war.

Dated 25 September 1945

/s/ Alva C. Carpenter
ALVA C. CARPENTER
Colonel, JAGD
United States Army

AFFIDAVIT

Before me personally appeared the above-named accuser this 25 day of September, 1945, and made oath that he is a person subject to military law and that he personally signed the foregoing charge, and further that he has investigated the matters set forth in the charge, and that it is true in fact, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

/s/ Kenneth C. Schwartz
KENNETH C. SCHWARTZ
Lt. Colonel, JAGD

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, WESTERN PACIFIC APO 707

2 October 1945

Referred for trial to Major Robert M. Kerr, Infantry, Chief Prosecutor of the Military Commission appointed by paragraph 24, Special Orders No. 112 this Headquarters, 2 October 1945.

By Command of Lieutenant General STYER:

/s/ C. H. Danielson
C. H. DANIELSON
Major General, USA
Adjutant General

I hereby certify that I have served a copy hereof, together with a true and complete translation thereof into Japanese, on the above-named accused this 2 day of October, 1945.

/s/ D. C. Hill
D. C. HILL
Capt., JAGD

A TRUE COPY:
/s/ Robert M. Kerr
ROBERT M. KERR
Major, Infantry

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC

Before the MILITARY COMMISSION convened by the COMMANDING GENERAL, United States Army Forces, Western Pacific, 1 October 1945.	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA vs. TOMOYUKI YAMASHITA

BILL OF PARTICULARS

Pursuant to order of the Commission, the Prosecution respectfully submits this, its Bill of Particulars, as follows:

Between 9 October 1944 and 2 September 1945, at Manila and other places in the Philippine Islands, members of armed forces of Japan under the command of the Accused committed the following:

1. During the period from 9 October 1944 to 1 May 1945, undertaking the putting into execution a deliberate plan and purpose to massacre and exterminate a large part of the civilian population of Batangas Province, and to devastate and destroy public, private and religious property therein, as a result of which more than 25,000 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians, were brutally mistreated and killed, without cause or trial, and entire settlements were devastated and destroyed wantonly and without military necessity.

2. During the period from 9 October 1944 to 2 February 1945, at Santo Tomas Internment Camp in Manila, deliberate and wilfull failure and refusal to provide food, medicine, clothing and other necessities to the civilian internees there confined, with consequent starvation and malnutrition, and deaths, of such interness; brutal mistreatment, beating, and torture of H. F. Wilkins and other civilian internees; torture, beating and summary execution of more than six (6) interness for minor infractions of rules; cruel mistreatment, torture and brutal execution, without cause or trial, of Carol C. Grinnell, Alfred P. Duggleby, Clifford Larsen and B. B. Johnson, all civilian internees.

3. During the months of October, November and December, 1944, brutally mistreating and torturing numerous unarmed noncombatant civilians at the Japanese Military Police Headquarters located at Cortabitarte and Mabini Streets, Manila.

4. On about 30 October 1944, at Carigara, Leyte, cruelly mistreating, torturing, mutilating and subsequently executing and, without cause or trial, killing Private Wade E. Consemer, a member of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, then in captivity of the Armed Forces of Japan as a prisoner of war.

5. During November 1944, in northern Cebu Province, massacre, without cause or trial, of more than 1000 unarmed noncombatant civilians.

6. During November and December 1944, at Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija Province, brutal mistreatment, torture, maiming, executing and killing, without cause or trial, of members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, then held captive as prisoners of war by Armed Forces of Japan.

7. At sometime between 20 November 1944 and 1 May 1945, at Batan Island, Batanes Province, the brutal mistreatment, torture, execution and killing without cause or trial, of Captain William Burgh, Phillip Maurice Martin, and one other person whose name is unknown, all mem-

bers of the Armed Forces of the United States of America and then in captivity of Armed Forces of Japan as prisoners of war.

8. During the month of November, 1944, in the Town of Lipa, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, torturing, and killing, without cause or trial, eleven (11) members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, then held captive as prisoners of war by Armed Forces of Japan.

9. On about 14 December 1944, at or near Puerto Princesa, Palawan Island, brutally mistreating, assassinating and killing, by burning, bayonetting or shooting, 141 members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, then prisoners of war held in captivity by Armed Forces of Japan, and brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill nine (9) additional members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, then prisoners of war held in captivity by Armed Forces of Japan.

10. During the period from 18 December 1944 to 31 December 1944, both dates inclusive, in Manila, brutally mistreating, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Dr. Jose Enriquez, J. Allen Enriquez, and Julia Seibert Enriquez, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

11. On about 29 December 1944, at the Barrio of Dapdap, Ponson Island, Camotes Islands, brutally mistreating and then killing, without cause or trial, more than 300 unarmed noncombatant civilians, and brutally mistreating, wounding, maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, more than 50 unarmed noncombatant civilians, being the entire population of that Barrio.

12. During the period from 1 January 1945 to 17 February 1945, both dates inclusive, fortification of and installation of military objectives on the premises of the Philippine General Hospital, Ermita, Manila, then in use as a civilian hospital, with consequent killing of patients and civilian refugees by shellfire.

13. On about 28 January 1945, at Los Baños Internment Camp, Laguna Province, brutally miistreating and then summarily executing and, without cause or trial, killing George James Louis, an unarmed noncombatant civilian subject of the United States of America, then interned and held captive by Armed Forces of Japan.

14. On about 10 February 1945, at the Nurses Home of the Philippine General Hospital, Ermita, Manila, rape of civilian women.

15. During the period from 2 February 1945 to 1 March 1945, both dates inclusive, deliberately, wantonly and without justification or military necessity, devastating, destroying, and pillaging and looting of large areas of the City of Manila, including public, private and religious buildings and other property, and committing widespread theft of money, valuables, food and other private property in that city.

16. On about 4 February 1945, at the Dy-Pac Lumber Yard in Manila, brutally mistreating and killing two unarmed noncombatant male civilians.

17. During the period from 7 February 1945 to 14 February 1945, both dates inclusive, at and in the vicinity of De La Salle College, 1501 Taft Ave., Manila, brutally killing, without cause or trial, Judge Jose R. Carlos and Brother Xavier, Rector of that College, both of whom were unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally killing, without cause or trial, 40 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally mistreating, wounding, maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, fourteen (14) unarmed noncombatant civilians; rape of two female civilians; attempted rape of one female civilian; and attempt to have carnal intercourse with the body of one dead female civilian.

18. On about 7 February 1945, at Malate, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Arsenio Escudero, Jr., and Jose Herman, Jr., and brutally mistreating and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Jose Herman, Sr., all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

19. During the period from about 6 February 1945 to about 8 February 1945, both dates inclusive, at and in the vicinity of the National Psychopathic Hospital, Mandaluyong, Rizal Province, brutally mistreating and then killing, without cause or trial, Tomas Aguinaldo, Tomas Corpus, Father Lafarrier, Isidro Laguelles, and 17 other persons, all unarmed noncombatants civilians; and the rape and subsequent brutal killing, without cause or trial, of one (1) civilian female doctor.

20. On about 10 February 1945, at Malate, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Angel Gajo; and brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Eutiquio Antipolo, Dimas Antipolo and Feliciano Lamactud, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

21. On about 11 February 1945, at Pasay, Rizal Province, brutally mistreating and thereafter killing, without cause or trial, Henry Daland and Tony Daland, citizens of the United States of America, Ceferino Alayso and Romula Daro, Filipinos, and Jacinto de la Vara and Gre-

gorio Mendez, citizens of Spain, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and wantonly and deliberately and without military necessity burning and destroying private property, the houses and homes of civilians.

22. On about 11 February 1945, near Singalong Church, Manila, brutally killing, without cause or trial, Lazar Braun, an Austrian citizen, Robert Markus, a German citizen, and Alexander Farmakowski, a Russian, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians.

23. On about 7 February 1945, at Singalong, Manila, brutally mistreating and torturing and thereafter executing and killing, without cause or trial, Lt. Col. Alejo Valdes and Lt. Col. Jose Guido, disarmed and demobilized former members of the Philippine Army, and Raymond Valdes, Ernesto Mirillo, Justo Guido, Jose Guido, Jr., Raymond Guido, and thirteen (13) other persons whose names are unknown, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians.

24. On about 7 February 1945, at Paco, Manila, brutally mistreating and thereafter killing, without cause or trial, Bartolome Pons, Rosario Garcia Pons, Eva V. Pons, Edward King, Pacita King, Delfin Marquez, and two (2) other persons whose names are unknown, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians.

25. During the period from 1 February 1944 to 1 January 1945, deliberately planning and undertaking, without cause or trial, the extermination, massacre and wanton, indiscriminate killing of large numbers of unarmed noncombatant civilian men, women and children, inhabitants of the City of Manila and its envisions, and brutally mistreating, wounding, mutilating, killing and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, large numbers of such inhabitants, and raping or attempting to rape large numbers of civilian and women and female children in that city.

26. On about 12 February 1945, at 914 Indiana Street, Malate, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Alexander Bachrach, Antonio Irlanda, Venancio Quintero, Eduardo de los Reyes, Jose Valle, and five other persons whose names are unknown, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

27. On about 9 and 10 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of the San Marcelino Church and the Saint Vincent de Paul House, Ermita, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Father Jose Fernandez, Father Julio Ruiz, Father Adolfo Soto, Father Jose Tejada, all Spanish Vincentian Catholic priests, and 21 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and brutally mistreating, wounding

and maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Co Ching, an unarmed nonombatant Chinese civilian.

28. On about 10 February 1945, at the corner of Taft Avenue and Padre Faura Street, Ermita, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Supreme Court Justice Anacleto Diaz and his two sons, Felino Angeles, Jose Angeles, Roman Ardena, and 33 other persons, and wounding and attempting to kill Juanito de los Reyes, Delfin de los Paz, Antonio De Mayo, and six (6) other persons and attacking and attempting to kill, Paul J. Akot, Ah See Chua, and 11 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians, and all without cause or trial.

29. On about 10 February 1945, at Paco, Manila, massacring and killing 12 unarmed noncombatant civilians and wounding, maiming and attempting to kill 3 unarmed noncombatant civilians, all without cause or trial; and unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying private property, the houses and homes of civilians.

30. On about 10 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of the Philippine Red Cross Building, Isaac Peral and General Luna Streets, Manila, massacring and killing, without cause or trial, more than 53 men, women and children, and wounding, maiming and attempting to kill four persons, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians; and unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying the said building and its furniture, fixtures and contents.

31. On about 7 February 1945 at and in the vicinity of 1462 Taft Avenue in Pasay, Rizal Province, cruelly and brutally mistreating and thereafter massacring and killing more than 100 Filipino and French civilians, without cause or trial, all being unarmed noncombatant civilians; wounding, maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, seventeen unarmed noncombatant Filipino civilians; raping unarmed and noncombatant civilian women and thereafter killing them; unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying private property of civilians, the house and home of Mrs. Doña Concepcion Soblador Campos; and seizing, confiscating and stealing money, jewels, watches and other private property of civilians.

32. On about 9 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of St. Paul's College, Malate, Manila, cruelly and brutally mistreating Marcelino Pungalon, Meneleo Carlos, Sr., Estelita Benito, and approximately 600 other persons, including men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally massacring and killing without cause or trial, Bruno Acura, Celia Aguas, Jose Aquino, and 370 additional persons, including

men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; wounding,maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Celestina Antipolo, Zeila Antipolo, Cornelia Ayson, and 24 other persons, including men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly burning and destroying buildings, together with fixtures, furniture and other contents thereof, and dedicated to religion, art and science and not used for military purposes, of the aforesaid St. Paul's College and seizing and confiscating and stealing money, jewels and other private property of civilians.

33. On about 9 February 1945, in the vicinity of Dana Perfume Factory, Pasay, Rizal Province, cruelly bearing, torturing and thereafter killing, without cause or trial, Eugene Andrewitz Kremleff, Russian, Julian Jawai and Alfredo Gana, Filipino, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

34. During the period from 9 February 1945 to 17 February 1945, both dates inclusive, at and in the vicinity of Bay View Hotel, Alhambra Apartment Hotel, Miramor Apartment Hotel and Manila Hotel, all in Ermita, Manila, cruelly mistreating and abusing approximately 400 women all unarmed and noncombatant civilians; cruelly mistreating, abusing and repeatedly raping more than 40 women and female children, and cruelly mistreating, abusing and attempting to rape more than 36 other women and female children; unnecessarily and wantonly burning, damaging or destroying the said buildings, private property, their furniture, fixtures and contents.

35. On about 8 and 9 February 1945, in Malate, killing, without cause or trial, Africa Canillas, Amparo Canillas, Charles Canillas, Elvira Canillas, and five (5) other members of the Felipe Canillas family, and Zoillo Llave, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; pillaging and unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying private property, the house and home of Felipe Canillas.

36. On about 13 February 1945, in the vicinity of No. 1609 Taft Avenue, Malate, Manila, cruelly mistreating and subsequently killing without cause or trial, Albert P. Delfino, Venezuelan Consul in Manila, then known by the perpetrators to be such, Francis A. Delfino, Maria Dolores Delfino, and John Doe Ching, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; cruelly mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Igmidio Ramos, and a woman whose name is unknown; unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying private property, in-

cluding the house at 1609 Taft Avenue and numerous other buildings in that area, together with the furniture, fixtures and contents thereof.

37. On about 11 February 1945, at 1580 Taft Avenue, Malate, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Vassanmal Popardes and three (3) other British Indians, and Emilio Tubayano and three (3) other Filipinos, all unarmed noncombatants; unnecessarily and wantonly burning and destroying private property, the house and home of Hashmatrai Hatchand, together with the furniture, fixtures and contents thereof.

38. On about 7 February 1945, near the Syquia Apartments in Malate, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Father Peter Fallon, Father John Henaghan, Father Patrick Kelly and Father Joseph Monaghan, Priests of the Malate Catholic Church and Convent, and Jose Chico, Gerardo Rectra, Jack Sullivan, Conrado Vallenas, Victor Velasco, Bertito Zamora, Marcial Zamora, and Cristi Malaban, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

39. On about 9 February 1945, at 515 Dakota Street, Malate, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Kishinchand Mirchandani, Devjimal Changomal Lalivani, Thelma Parriab and Carl Parrish, Jr. (infant child,) all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

40. On about 20 February 1945, in the Iloguin District approximately 2-1/2 kilometers east of Pasig, Rizal Province, brutal mistreatment and robbery, and subsequent killing, without cause or trial, of Candido Jabson, and the brutal treatment, robbery, wounding and attempt tc kill, of Raymunda Jabson and Delfina Jabson, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians; abuse and attempt to rape Raymunda Jabson; robbery, seizing, confiscating and stealing watches, clothes and other private property; and pillage of private property.

41. On about 12 February 1945, at 150 Vito Cruz Street, Singalong, Manila, brutal mistreatment, torture, burning alive or otherwise killing Carlos Perez Rubio, Sr., Lopita Perez Rubio, Javier Perez Rubio, Herbert Fox, Mrs. Herbert Fox, Marina Padua, Alphonso Pahodpod, and more than twenty-two other persons including men, women and children, and brutally mistreating, attempting to burn alive and wounding Jose Balboa, Ignacio Bustamante and other persons; all unarmed and noncombatant civilians; unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly burning and destroying private property, the house and home of Carlos Perez, Sr.

42. On about 28 February 1945, at the town of Bauan, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating and subsequently massacring and killing without cause or trial, Enrique Martinez, Maximino Brual, and more than 400 other persons, including men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, Dr. Francisco Manigbas, Gemeniano M. Brual, and more than 100 other persons all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and pillaging, unnecessarily and wantonly devastating and destroying public, religious and private property.

43. During the period from 16 February 1945 to 18 February 1945, both dates inclusive, at the Town of Taal, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, massacring and killing, without cause or trial of Benjamin Moreno, an infant 1 year of age, Andres Briones, Alberto Martel, Pablo Marasigan, Dalmacio Luna, Concordia Barrion, Alicia Barrion, together with an additional number of men, women and children in excess of 2000, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; in the Barrios of San Nicolas and Sintonisan, pillaging and unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly devastating, burning and destroying all houses and other buildings.

44. On about 19 February 1945, in the Town of Cuenca, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, massacring and killing Jose M. Laguio, Esteban Magsomdol, Jose Lunbo, Felisa Apuntar, Elfidio Lunar, Victoriana Remo, and 978 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; pillaging and unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly devastating, burning and destroying large areas of that town.

45. On about 20 February 1945, at the Town of San Jose, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, massacring and killing, without cause or trial, Vinancia Remo, Vincente Frank, Jose Talog, Roman Umali, and more than 500 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; pillaging and unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly devastating, burning and destroying large areas of that town.

46. On about 19 February 1945, at the Town of Mataasnakahoy, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, massacring and killing approximately 200 men, and women and children, the names of whom are not yet determined, all being unarmed noncombatant civilians; pillaging and unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly devastating, burning and destroying large areas of that town.

47. During the period from 16 February 1945 to 19 March 1945, both dates inclusive, at the Town of Santo Tomas, Batangas Province,

brutally mistreating, massacring and killing Paz Austria, Adelaida Castro, Caladia Cabrera, Rodolfo Talad, and more than 1500 other men, women and children, all unarmed and noncombatant civilians; pillaging and unnecessarily, deliberately and wantonly burning, damaging and destroying all public buildings and private homes.

48. On about 10 February 1945, in the Paco District of Manila, brutally mistreating, torturing, mutilating and killing, without cause or trial, Regina Alcid, Bonifacio Bogamosbod, Ricardo Baja, Eugenio Balleta, and more than 300 other persons; brutally mistreating, torturing, mutilating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Vicente Alcid, Eustaquio Batocktoy, Eugene Boyot and more than 100 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians, deliberately and wantonly burning and destroying, without military necessity, private property, a house at 1195 Singalong Street, Manila

49. During the period from 16 February 1945 to 19 March 1945, both dates inclusive, in the Town of Lipa, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating, wounding and killing, without cause or trial, Ricardo Caringal, Francisco La Torre, Pedro La Torre, Severo Lubrica, Santiago Limatok, and more than 12,000 other men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; pillaging, deliberately and wantonly and without military necessity devastating, burning, damaging and destroying public and private buildings and property, including property devoted to religious purposes.

50. On about 8 February 1945, at Santa Rosa College, Intramuros, Manila, the abduction and subsequent brutal mistreatment and killing of Aida Aplin, Leo Cump, Kenneth Huebch, Edgar Christiansen, Father Cornelius Van Russell, William Mitchell, Valeriano Cueva, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

51. On about 10 February 1945, at or near the Santa Rosa College, Intramuros, Manila, the abduction and subsequent brutal mistreatment and killing, without cause or trial, at Manila Armory, of Bartolome Pinilio, Evencio Piquero, Adriano Ramos, Leon Ulit, Anastacio Montano, Juanito Tabal, Armanda Ebañez, and 54 other men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutal mistreatment, wounding and attempt to kill, without cause or trial, Conrado Tauro, Mama Moro, and Wong Ling, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

52. During the period from 10 February 1945 to 23 February 1945, at Fort Santiago, Intramuros, Manila, brutal mistreatment, starvation,

torture, wounding, maiming, burning alive, massacre and killing, without cause or trial, of more than 4000 unarmed noncombatant civilians.

53. On about 17 February 1945, at Santo Domingo Church, Intramuros, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Dr. Cecilio Noriega, Dr. Manuel Lahoz, Conrado Pili, Lazaro Cordero, Dado Pili, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

54. On about 10 February 1945, in the town of Tanawan, Batangas Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, 500 unarmed noncombatant civilians, and deliberately and wantonly and without military necessity devastating and destroying public and private property.

55. On about 12 February 1945, at Calamba, Laguna Province, massacre, without cause or trial, of more than 7000 unarmed noncombatant civilians, and rape of 37 civilian women.

56. On about 9 April 1945, at the Town of Pingus, Laguna Province, massacre, without cause or trial, of 41 unarmed noncombatant civilians.

57. On about 13 March 1945, at the Town of Rosario, Batangas Province, massacre and killing, without cause or trial, of Lorenzo Masilangan, Sakeo Tolentino, Marcela Tolentino, Ilias Garcia, Saturnina Barcelos, and more than 45 other persons, including men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and pillaging and unnecessarily and wantonly devastating and destroying public, religious and private property.

58. On about 6 March 1945, at Los Baños, Laguna Province, massacring and killing, without cause or trial, Ang Kai, and 26 other Chinese, and brutally mistreating, wounding, maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Elisa Ang and Kim Ling Ang, unarmed and noncombatant civilians; and brutally mistreating and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, all of the unarmed and noncombatant Chinese civilians of that town.

59. On about 12 February 1945, at Pax Court, Pasay, Rizal Province, brutally mistreating, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Antonio Villa-Real, a retired Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, Melchora Caliwan, Maria Doronila, and twelve (12) other persons, and brutally mistreating, torturing, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Dr. Walter K. Frankel, Hans Albrecht Luhrse, Alice Stahl, and other persons; and deliberately, wantonly and without military

necessity burning and destroying private property, the house at 168-B Balagtas Street, Manila, and the furniture, fixtures and contents thereof.

60. On about the night of 19-20 February 1945, at and in the air-raid shelters near Plaza McKinley, Intramuros, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Gaudencio Castrillo, Victor Gonzales, Benigno Cano, and more than 100 other Catholic priests, citizens of Spain, and other persons, and brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Laurentino de Pablo, Jose Manjabacas, Jose M. Barrulo, Father Belarmino de Celis, Julio Rocamura, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

61. During the period from 6 February 1945 to 22 February 1945, both dates inclusive, brutally mistreating, and imprisoning in St. Augustine Church, Intramuros, Manila, without food, medical supplies or other necessities, and unnecessarily and deliberately exposing to shell fire in and in the vicinity of that Church, approximately 6000 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians, by reason whereof a large number of such civilians died of starvation, disease and mistreatment.

62. During the period from 6 February 1945 to 22 February 1945, both dates inclusive, at the St. Augustine Church in Intramuros, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Sister Felisa Anza and more than 50 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

63. On about 23 February 1945, and in the vicinity of St. Augustine Church, Intramuros, Manila, killing, without cause or trial, Dr. Seguenza and other persons, and wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Ester .Aenelle, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

64. During the period from 6 February 1945 to 23 February 1945, both dates inclusive, in and in the vicinity of St. Augustine Church and Convent, Intramuros, Manila, brutally abusing, raping and attempting to rape numerous women and female children; wounding, killing and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, unarmed noncombatant civilians; pilfering, stealing and looting personal property of civilians confined therein, including watches, money, clothing, food, medical supplies, jewelry, and other personal belongings; installing, maintaining and operating, in and on the premises of the Church and Convent, military weapons and other military objectives, despite the exclusively religious purpose and non-military use of those buildings, and deliberately and wantonly, without military necessity, devastating, burning and destroying the Con-

vent and damaging the Church, together with the furniture, fixtures, religious library and other properties therein.

Respectfully submitted

ROBERT M. KERR
Major, Infantry
Prosecutor

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC

Before the MILITARY COMMISSION convened by the COMMANDING GENERAL United States Army Forces, Western Pacific 1 October 1945.	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA vs. TOMOYUKI YAMASHITA

SUPPLEMENTAL BILL OF PARTICULARS

The Prosecution respectfully submits this, its Supplemental Bill of Particulars, as follows: In addition to the acts specified in the Bill of Particulars heretofore filed, members of the armed forces of Japan, under the command of the Accused, were permitted to commit the following during the period from 9 October 1944 to 2 September 1945 at Manila and other places in the Philippine Islands:

65. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 31 October 1944, at the Towns of Medillan and Daanbantayan, Cebu Province, brutal mistreatment and massacre of men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; raping of women; looting and pillage; devastation and burning, without military justification, of houses and other property.

66. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 1 February 1945, at Cavite City, Imus, and elsewhere in Cavite Province, brutally mistreating torturing, and killing or attempting to kill, without cause or trial, unarmed noncombatant civilians.

67. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 5 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of Davao Penal Colony, City of Davao, Mindanao Island, brutal mistreatment, torture, starvation, killing, and

attempting to kill, large numbers of persons then and there held as prisoners of war or as civilian internees; willful failure and refusal, without justification to provide for such prisoners of war and internees proper and adequate shelter, food, water, clothing, sanitation, medical care, and other essentials; abandoning, and leaving without any care or attention whatever, helplessly sick, wounded or starved prisoners of war and internees; and deliberately profaning the bodies of dead prisoners of war and internees.

68. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 10 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of Fort Santiago, Intramuros, Manila, brutal mistreatment, starvation, torture, wounding, poisoning, burning alive, and killing, without cause or trial, of numerous unarmed noncombatant civilians.

69. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 23 February 1945, failure and refusal without justification to provide for Oscar P. RHUDID and other American noncombatant civilians then detained and interned at Los Baños Prison Camp, Laguna Province, adequate or proper quarters, bedding, food, clothing, sanitation facilities, medical care, and other essential facilities and supplies.

70. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 1 May 1945, in Cebu Province, deliberately terrorizing, brutally mistreating, torturing, wounding, and killing, without cause or trial, large numbers of unarmed noncombatant civilians; raping civilian women; looting and pillaging; wantonly and without military justification devastating, burning and destroying private and public property, including property devoted exclusively to religious, hospital, or educational purposes.

71. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 31 August 1945, at and in the vicinity of Manila and other places, compelling noncombatant civilians to construct fortifications and entrenchments and otherwise take part in the operations of armed forces of Japan against the country of those civilians.

72. During the period from 9 October 1944 to about 1 September 1945, in the Philippine Islands generally, deliberately undertaking to terrorize, brutalize, massacre and exterminate noncombatant civilian men, women and children, and to pillage, loot, devastate, burn and otherwise destroy towns, cities and other settlements, and public and private property, including property used exclusively for religious, educational, hospital, scientific and charitable purposes.

73. During the period from about 21 October 1944 to about 13 December 1944, at Old Bilibid Prison, Manila, brutal mistreatment and deliberate neglect of, and failure and refusal, without justification, to provide proper and adequate quarters, food, water, clothing, sanitation facilities, medical care, and other essential facilities and supplies, to Colonel William D. NORTH, Colonel Jack W. SCHWARTZ, Lt. Colonel Roy L. BODINE, JR., Major Robert E. CONN, and more than 2200 other persons, all then and there held as prisoners of war; on about 13 December 1944, at Manila, deliberately subjecting 1600 of said prisoners at war to public humiliation.

74. On about 22 October 1944, at Manila, summary execution, without cause or trial, of three (3) members of armed forces of the United States of America then held as prisoners of war.

75. On about 24 October 1944, near the Town of Concepcion, Tarlac Province, brutal mistreatment, torture, and subjecting to public humiliation, of an American prisoner of war, name unknown.

76. During the period from about 31 October 1944 to about 15 January 1945, at Sakura Prisoner of War Camp, Ft. McKinley, near Manila, grossly improper imprisonment of Thomas Eugene HARRELL, a member of armed forces of the United States of America, then held as a prisoner of war, together with 400 other such prisoners of war; and failing and refusing, without justification, to provide such prisoners of war with adequate or proper quarters, shelter, bedding, food, water, sanitation, clothing, medical care, and other essential facilities and supplies.

77. During the month of October or November 1944, exact date unknown, brutally mistreating and executing, without cause or trial, at North Cemetery, Manila, Mabel JURIKA, citizen of the United States of America, and four (4) other women, names unknown, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

78. On about 5 November 1944, at Imus, Cavite Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Elpidio ESTERIS and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

79. On about 12 November 1944, at the Town of Solano, Nueva Vizcaya Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Leon Mina PASCUA, Alejandro GROSBE, Quidit Victorio QUINES, Juan GARCIA, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

80. During the month of November 1944, exact date unknown, at North Cemetery, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, 26 unarmed noncombatant civilians, names unknown.

81. On about 1 December 1944, at Calapan, Mindoro Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, unarmed noncombatant civilians; confiscating and stealing food and other supplies essential for the survival of civilians; deliberately and wantonly, without military justification, devastating and burning houses and other property.

82. On about 10 and 11 December 1944, at the Village of Polo and the Town of Obando, Bulacan Province, brutal mistreatment and massacre, without cause or trial, of 400 unarmed noncombatant civilians.

83. During the period from about 15 December 1944 to about 24 December 1944, in the vicinity of Olongapo, Zambales Province, and during the period from about 24 December 1944 to about 27 December 1944, en route therefrom to Manila, brutal mistreatment, neglect and deliberate failure and refusal, without justification, to provide proper quarters, transportation, food, water, clothing, sanitation, medical care, and other essential facilities and supplies, to Colonel William D. NORTH, Colonel Jack W. SCHWARTZ, Lt. Colonel Roy L. BODINE, JR., Major Robert E. CONN, and more than 1600 other persons, all members of armed forces of the United States of America then and there held as prisoners of war by armed forces of Japan; deliberately and unnecessarily exposing said prisoners of war to gunfire and other hazards; and on about 27 December 1944, at Manila, deliberately subjecting said prisoners of war to public humiliations.

84. On about 16 December 1944, at Dasmariñas, Cavite Province, brutally mistreating and killing, or wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Reynaldo BUENAVENTURA, Jose RAMIREZ, JR., and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

85. On about 16 December 1944, at Imus, Cavite Province, brutally mistreating and imprisoning, without cause or trial, Dr. Andres DOMINGUEZ, Dr. Lazaro ILANO, Dr. Jose SAPINOSO, Dr. Modesto MASCARDO, Dominador CAMARINO, and all the other male physicians and imprisoning them at Military Police Headquarters at Cortabitarte and Mabini Streets, Manila, and subsequently killing them, all without cause or trial.

86. On about 28 and 29 December 1944, en route from Camp Holmes Internment Camp near Baguio, Mountain Province, to Old Bilibid Prison Camp, Manila, brutal mistreatment of, and failure and refusal, without justification, to provide food and water for James Douglas TYSON, his wife and son, Mrs. Edna May BARZ, her husband and

son, and other men, women and children, all noncombatant American civilians then detained and interned by armed forces of Japan.

87. During the period from 29 December 1944 to 4 February 1945, at Old Bilibid Prison Camp, Manila, detention and internment of Mrs. Edna May BARZ, Carl ESCHBACK, and more than 475 other American noncombatant civilian men, women and children, without adequate or proper quarters or shelter, bedding, food, water, sanitary facilities, clothing, medical care, and other essential facilities and supplies, and deliberate failure and refusal, without justification, to provide such facilities and supplies.

88. During the month of December 1944, at North Cemetery, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Herardo CRUZ, Lauro CERIO, Francisco HERNANDEZ, Pedro REYES, Cristobal GOMEZ, Santiago RAMOS, Godofredo LUNA, Gonzalo CRUZ, Gomel MANUEL, Edgardo AVILIDO, Ernesto PEREZ, Pulaviano ALCANTARA, Joestada MENDOZA, and more than 2000 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

89. During the month of December 1944, at Manila, with respect to Mackal HOOVER, Henry Guy LINDOBLOOM, Estorito ARGUINO, and other prisoners of war, subjecting to trial without prior notice to a representative of the protecting power, without opportunity to defend, and without counsel; denying opportunity of appeal from the sentence rendered; failing to notify the protecting power of the sentence pronounced; and executing a death sentence without communicating to the representative of the protecting power the nature and circumstances of the offense charged.

90. On about 19 January 1945, at the Towns of San Fernando and San Juan, La Union Province, brutal mistreatment and massacre, without cause or trial, of unarmed noncombatant civilians, and rape of civilian women.

91. During the period from about 25 January 1945 to about 17 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of the Manila Hotel, Manila, brutally mistreating, and detaining without food, water, medical care or other essential facilities and supplies, John Vincent JAMES, Erlinda QUERUBIN, and more than 2000 other persons, including men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; stealing from such civilians watches, jewelry, and other personal property; and deliberately and without military necessity exposing said civilians to gunfire

and other hazards, with consequent killing or wounding of a large number thereof.

92. During the months of January and February 1945, in and at the vicinity of Manila, assassinating, attempting to assassinate, and treacherously wounding or killing and attempting to wound or kill, members of armed forces of the United States of America.

93. On about 3 February 1945, in the vicinity of the Dy-Pac Lumberyard, Juan Luna Street, Tondo, Manila, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Alberto ANTONIO, Arturo ANTONIO, Cecilia ANTONIO, Dominador ANTONIO, and 111 other men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and brutally mistreating, torturing, wounding, maiming, and attempting to kill, all without cause or trial, Jose LACSON, Ricardo MENDOZA, Ricardo SAN JUAN, and Ricardo TRINIDAD, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

94. On about 3 February 1945, at Old Bilibid Prison, Manila, then in use by armed forces of Japan as a place of internment of unarmed noncombatant civilians, deliberately and without military justification installing and maintaining therein military weapons and objectives, and unnecessarily exposing the internees to gunfire and other hazards.

95. During the period from about 3 February to about 12 February 1945 in Manila, bombarding and attacking, without military justification, Old Bilibid Prison Camp, then an undefended, nonmilitary locality housing a large number of unarmed noncombatant civilians there interned.

96. On about 3 and 4 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of New Bilibid Prison, Muntinglupa, Rizal Province, brutal mistreatment and killing, without cause or trial, of more than 47 unarmed noncombatant civilians.

97. During the period from about 4 February 1945 to about 7 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of Manila Cathedral, Intramuros, Manila, brutal mistreatment and abuse of civilian women; and the deliberate and wanton destruction, without military justification, of Manila Cathedral, an institution devoted exclusively to religious purposes.

98. On about 10 February 1945, in and in the vicinity of the German Club, on San Luis Street near San Marcelino Street, in Ermita, Manila, brutally mistreating, torturing, mutilating and killing, without cause or trial, Ada ARTIGAS, Rafael ARTIGAS, Tony ARTIGAS, Felisa BAO, Emilio BUENO, Gonzalo BUENO, Bernardino CALUB, SR., Bernardino

CALUB, JR., Bulchand DHANAMAL, and more than 500 other men, women and children, including American, Filipino, French, Spanish, British-Indian, and German subjects, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally mistreating, torturing, wounding, maiming, and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Francisco LOPEZ, Engracio LOSA, Asuncion R. MARBAS, Helena RODRIGUEZ, and Inez STREEGAN, and other persons all unarmed noncombatant civilians; deliberately contaminating and poisoning a well of water, the sole source of potable drinking water for a large number of civilians; repeatedly raping numerous civilian women and female children; deliberately and wantonly, without military necessity, devastating, burning and destroying the said German Club and other buildings nearby, together with the furniture, fixtures and contents thereof, and other private property.

99. On about 10 February 1945, at the Dr. PRICE House, 535 Colorado Street, Ermita, Manila, brutal massacre and killing, without cause or trial, of Concepcion ALTAVAS, Enrique ARRASTIA, Dolores Bastida BARTA, George BARTA, and more than 100 other men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutal mistreatment and wounding of, and attempt to kill, without cause or trial, Adoracion AGOSAJOS, Elvira ALTAVAS, Jose C. BARTA, and more than ten other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; deliberately and wantonly, without military justification, burning and destroying houses and other private property.

100. On about 10 February 1945, at Manila, bombarding and attacking, without military justification, Santo Tomas Internment Camp, then a nonmilitary locality housing a large number of unarmed noncombatant civilians there interned.

101. On about 11 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of the Tabacalera Cigar and Cigarette Factory and the Shell Service Station, Isaac Peral and M. de Comillas Streets, Ermita, Manila, brutal mistreatment and killing, without cause or trial, of Lu Fu CHIN, Dominga SEDRO, Hee CHUA, Hung SO, and 39 other unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutal mistreatment of and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Bernardo ANGELES, Chi Chang WANG, and ten other unarmed noncombatant civilians.

102. On about 11 February 1945, in the Pasay District, Rizal, brutal mistreatment, torture, and burning alive of Pedro, last name unknown, an unarmed noncombatant civilian; brutal mistreatment and

killing, without cause or trial, of Dr. Luis REYES and Maria SEQUERA, both unarmed noncombatant civilians; attempting to kill, without cause or trial, numerous unarmed noncombatant civilians, names unknown; deliberately and wantonly, without military justification, devastating, burning and destroying houses and other property.

103. On about 13 February 1945, in the vicinity of the intersection of Vermont Street and Florida Street, Malate, Manila, brutally killing, without cause or trial, Felix ISLA, Angel FRANCISCO, and three (3) other unarmed noncombatant civilians; wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Silverio T. BRAGANZA.

104. On about 17 February 1945, at 417 Isaac Peral Street, Manila, bruatlly mistreating, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Carlos Garcia BUCK, Asuncion CEDRON, Maria Luisa C. de CHICOTE, Prudencio CHICOTE, JR., Aurora de la CRUZ, Carlitos de la CRUZ, Gabriela de la CRUZ, Lolita de la CRUZ, and more than 30 other men, women and children, and brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Prudencio CHICOTE, Victorio FERIA, Florentina E. H. GONZALEZ, Mary GONZALEZ, Carlos GARCIA, JR., Pelagia LARAYA, and more than 25 other men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; and deliberately and wantonly burning and destroying private property without military justification.

105. On about 24 February 1945, at and in the vicinity of San Pablo, City of San Pablo, Laguna Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, 730 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; brutally mistreating, wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Yat Tek SE, Tan Tek CHU, Sia Suy SENG, and other unarmed noncombatant civilians.

106. During the month of February 1945, exact date unknown, at Nichols Field, Rizal Province, brutally beating and killing, without cause or trial, a member of the armed forces of the United States of America, name unknown, then held as a prisoner of war by armed forces of Japan.

107. During the months of February and March 1945, in and in the vicinity of the City of Baguio, Mountain Province, deliberately and wantonly and without military justification devastating, burning and destroying private and public property, looting, and stealing from civilians food and other personal property.

108. On about 25 March 1945, at the Town of Solano, Nueva Vizcaya Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, more than 14 unarmed noncombatant civilians, names unknown.

109. On about 26 March 1945, at Cebu City, Cebu Province, brutally mistreating, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Paul MANSELLA, Lawrence FOX, and SCOTT, full name unknown, all members of armed forces of the United States of America then held captive as prisoners of war by armed forces of Japan; brutally mistreating, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Roberto TAN and four (4) other men, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

110. On about 29 March 1945, at the Town of Famy, Laguna Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, unarmed noncombatant civilians.

111. During the month of March 1945, exact date unknown, at the town of Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya Province, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, VELASQUES and MACABADBAD, first names unknown, and more than 27 other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

112. During the month of March 1945, at Cebu City, Cebu Province, brutal mistreatment and massacre, without cause or trial, of twelve members of the PALICTE Family, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; multiple rape of civilian women; deliberate and wanton devastation, burning, and destruction, without military justification, pillage and looting of large areas of that City.

113. On about 7 April 1945, at and in the vicinity of the Barrios of Pingas, Ulinig, Liko, and Santa Ana, and the Municipality of Paete, all in Laguna Province, brutal mistreatment and massacre, without cause or trial, of Aura ADAO, Juan ADAO, Estanislawa ADAO, Damaso AFUNGOL, Miling ASTRONIMO, Gregorio BAGUI, Maria SALCEDO, Marcosa VALENCIA, and more than 50 other men, women and children, and wounding and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Mateo ADES, Meliton BALQUIEDRA, Ernesto BALQUIEDRA, Aurora VALENCIA, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; deliberately and wantonly, without military justification, burning and destroying private property.

114. On about 16 April 1945, at Nanipil, Mountain Province, deliberately, wantonly, and without military justification, burning and destroying the settlement, together with numerous items of personal property;

and killing, without cause or trial, Alico PABLONOT and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

115. On about 16 April 1945, in the vicinity of Titig Mountain, Mountain Province, brutally mistreating and beheading, without cause or trial, Alphonso SUNGA, Lino GABLAD, Jose BANEZ, Soledad RAMOS, Pedro LA MADRID, and other persons, and maiming and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, Juanito ALIMES, Samuel TOVERA, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

116. On about 18 April 1945, near the City of Baguio, Mountain Province, brutal mistreatment and killing, without cause or trial, of 83 men, women and children, and wounding and attempting to kill Marcelo ARRIETA and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

117. On about 10 May 1945, at or in the vicinity of Basco, Batan Island, Batanes Group, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, Januario VALONES and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

118. On about 15 May 1945, at Matina Pangi, Davao City, Mindanao Island, brutally mistreating and killing, wtihout cause or trial, Herculano GEMPESAW, Hermes GEMPESAW, Arestes GEMPESAW, Carlos PINGOL, Manuel BONLEON, Antonio PAMILAR, Corazon PAMILAR, Felicio BONLEON, Felicitas GEMPESAW, Maria GEMPESAW, Clara GEMPESAW, Purificacion GEMPESAW, Eduardo PINGOL, and other persons, all noncombatant civilians.

119. During the period from about 1 May 1945 to about 1 September 1945, on Batan Island, Batanes Group, brutally mistreating, torturing, killing and attempting to kill, without cause or trial, unarmed noncombatant civilians; wantonly and without military justification devastating, burning and destroying homes and other property; confiscating and stealing food, crops, and other supplies essential to the survival of civilians.

120. During the period from 30 June 1945 to 4 July 1945, both dates inclusive, at Tapal, Cagayan Province, brutal mistreatment, massacre and killing, without cause or trial, of more than 200 men, women and children, and brutal mistreatment, wounding and attempt to kill, without cause or trial, of more than 50 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

121. On about 10 July 1945, at Basco, Batan Island, Batanes Group, torturing and killing, without cause or trial, more than 84 men, women and children, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

122. On about 20 January 1945, at Los Baños Internment Camp, Laguna Province, killing, without cause or trial, Patrick HELD, also known as Patrick HELL, a noncombatant civilian citizen of the United States of America, then and there interned by armed forces of Japan.

123. During the month of January 1945, at and in the vicinity of the City of Iloilo, Panay Island, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, Crispino UMADHAY, Juan GOLING, MASIONG, full name unknown, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians; on about 22 March 1945, at and in the vicinity of the City of Iloilo, Panay Island, brutally mistreating and killing, without cause or trial, CRISPIN, full name unknown, and other persons, all unarmed noncombatant civilians.

26 October 1945

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Robert M. Kerr
/t/ ROBERT M. KERR
Major, Infantry
PROSECUTOR

A TRUE COPY:
/s/ Robert M. Kerr
/t/ ROBERT M. KERR
Major, Infantry

Letter of Salvador P. Lopez to Leon Ma. Guerrero, Jr.

November 29, 1944

Dear Leoni,

Please accept my sympathies for the tragedy that overtook your relatives in Ermita during a recent air-raid on Manila. For one so far away like yourself, it must be painful to think that the war which now engulfs us all has actually struck a blow so close to home. But we who are here subjected each day to the mounting terror of the struggle may perhaps be forgiven the habit of thinking that the tragedy was one of those things that are bound to happen in the course of an embittered conflict. Humbly we submit to the law of chance, knowing that somehow, sometime, by a fortuitous combination of circumstances, it may be our turn to suffer the fate that has befallen our friends and neighbors.

In this spirit, and without forgetting to pray to God for deliverance from the perils that beleaguer us, we live from day to day, alternately driven by a feeling of desperate hopelessness and by the sheer urge of survival. Between the threat of starvation and the peril of death from the sky, most of us have not much of any choice left — not to speak of the other unnameable calamities not numbered among the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. And yet, somehow, life asserts itself in the end. Hours before the sun is up, the air-raid signal having been sounded, we must stagger nervously from bed to the basement, driven there by an almost superstitious faith in the protection afforded by a wall of adobe stone and by an additional thickness of floor and ceiling. And when the drone of the last raiding plane has died away, we must go to market to buy rice at P300 a ganta, kangkong at P3 a small bundle, tuyo at P3 each, fresh bangus at P60, bagoong at P2 a spoonful, eggs at P18, or a fair-sized chicken at P250, out of the one or two thousand pesos for which we had sold the last aparador. And we must go to the office on a breakfast of thin nilugaw or half a cup of boiled corn in order to earn just enough money to pay for one's lunch. And finally, we must go home, long before dark, for few people now dare walk along the streets of the City after nightfall — too many hold-up men are around, and too great the risk of being stopped by sentries and of not being able to explain what you are about. And then to a meager supper and to bed, praying fervently that we may live through the nameless, unpredictable terrors of the blackout night.

This, on days when the raiders come, is how we live. On days when they don't, we try to forget, although the continuous drone of planes overhead (some people say they can tell what planes are up from the pitch and timbre of the airplane motors — I can't) keeps pushing the menace foremost in our minds. Furtively, we keep wondering when the raiders will come again. For they keep coming — first, the small naval dive-bombers, darting in and out in five or six waves the whole day, more recently the bigger land-based Army planes, not so skillful on the dive but more prone to skim the very house-tops in low-level attacks, and now a B-24's and P-38's which, according to the Tribune, have been sighted over the Luzon area.

In the meantime, everybody except the very rich who care little about prices, and the hoarders who don't have to worry about supply. is going through a fearful nightmare of death by slow starvation. The prices of commodities are soaring to scandalous heights, far and away beyond the reach of any but those who made enough money in the Buy-and-Sell business or who still have a few prices of furniture left to sell. Months ago much of the talk about the threat of hunger was just talk. Today, we see it in the streets as we walk to and from the office each day: men, women and children reduced to skin and bones, lying asprawl on the sidewalks from where they will not rise again. For this is famine such as we of our generation have never seen before, and those of us who walk through the streets are seeing too much of it, I am afraid, for the good of our own souls. You could almost feel the callouses growing around the chambers of the heart. The big shots and the well-fed ones are luckier because they are spared the grim sights of the city streets. All they have to do is lean back on the thick cushions of their motor cars as they speed through the avenues in a cloud of all-concealing dust.

Certain Japanese friends who have just returned from the home country tell me that conditions in Japan continue to be fairly normal. The ration system functions like clockwork, they say. There is a black market, but it is really black. It is, I gather, all a question of discipline. For here, we see that the public markets continue to be well-stocked with foodstuff, and rice and corn are being sold openly for all the world to see, with price tags and all, at the levels I have mentioned before. And yet the people are dying of hunger.

The situation is pretty bad, and in spite of the hopes we pin on the coming harvest, it is steadily getting worse. Our people are going through a first-rate crisis, but that is not the main trouble, since other peoples elsewhere in the world are going or have gone through worse. The trouble is that our people do not seem morally equal to the test. We are beaten from the very start.

If I have painted a lugubrious picture of our present situation, it's because I want you and our friends there to know as much of the truth as is permissible to relate. You must think of us often as we think of you, and it is better that you know something of what is really happening to the folks back home.

Of course, the sheer will to survive is very strong in us all. But the desire to live through to better days reflects no particular glory on human beings anywhere, since even the poor, dumb cattle on the way to the slaughter would prefer to stay alive if they knew how.

In the Ministry those of us who remain (two-thirds of the officials and employees have been laid off, including Counsellor Makalintal, Dean Africa, Secretary Morfe and Secretary Calingo), have to keep at the work that awaits to be done. Evangelista, Maloles and myself have decided to stick it with the Minister, and it is enough compensation to feel that he too is happy to have us continue working with him. The Minister has approved a plan making me Counsellor and Maloles Secretary of the Ministry — but all this, considering the times, is little more than dust in the mouth.

The Minister highly appreciates your sending the clippings from the Times. I myself read them greedily, of course, for the famine here is not confined to the things of the body, as you very well know.

The Tribune the other day reported the first raid by Saipan-based B-29's over the Tokyo area. So what I have reported about the raids on Manila can hardly be news to you now. You might let me know how it feels — if you were anywhere near the bombed areas at the time.

I reciprocate your kind wishes. Heaven knows we both are going to need all the good luck we can have. So, here's to our next reunion — under a clearer sky, with all our good friends around, drinking good chilled beer at the Nineteenth Hole. And please say hello to Norman for me.

Very sincerely yours,

SALVADOR P. LOPEZ

Mr. Leon Ma. Guerrero, Jr.
Second Secretary
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Ambeth Ocampo

AMBETH R. OCAMPO